Mark Pulliam asks: Is Ron George playing politics with the Boy Scout cases?

CALIFORNIA ★ POLITICAL
REVIEW
NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1997 • VOLUME 8 • NUMBER 6 • $4.50

A Call to Defend Religious Freedom
by Pat Nolan

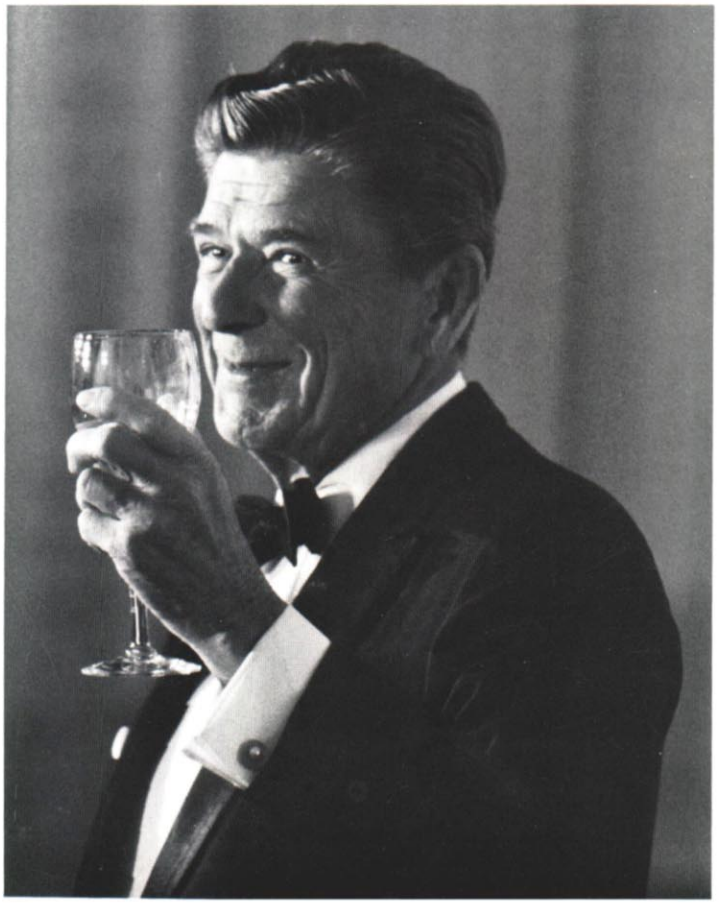
Facts about Gun Control
A *new* feature by William E. Saracino

What our schools *do* teach
by Steve Baldwin

CONSERVATIVES' UNFINISHED MISSION

THE TASK BEFORE US

BY WILLIAM A. RUSHER



Plus: What Ails California Republicans?
Tom McClintock proposes;
John Kurzweil responds.

Two million tax dollars to the ACLU, compliments of your state government
By Gregory Sanford

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADVERTISEMENT

The PARENTS RIGHTS Coalition

To Chief Justice Ronald M. George and the California Supreme Court,
California State Legislators, and
Governor Pete Wilson

ORGANIZATIONS

The Adam Smith Institute
The California Public Policy Foundation
The Claremont Institute
The United States Justice Foundation

CITIZENS COMMITTEE

Hon. Steve Baldwin
Jon Fleischman
Lorelei Kinder
Gary Kreep
Terry A. Siemens
William E. Saracino
Hon. Bruce Thompson

LAWYERS COMMITTEE

Mark S. Pulliam
Chairman
Sidney A. Adair
Douglas R. Boyd
Samuel B. Casey
Paul J. Dostart
Paul L. Freese
David F. Faustman
Daniel J. Grimm
Hon. Ray Haynes
Stephen E. Hurst
E. James Jeffries
Howard J. Klein
Steve Knoblock
Patrick T. Loughman
John Q. Masteller
Nikola Mikulicich Jr.
Hon. Bill Morrow
Michael J. Schroeder
Alan Smith
Mark W. Smith
Shawn Steel
Paul D. Tosetti
David West
In formation
Titles for identification purposes only
John Kurzweil
Director

This letter is occasioned by the California Supreme Court's extraordinary decision in *American Academy of Pediatrics v. Lungren* that overturned California's 1987 parental consent for minor's abortion statute, a decision that Justice Janice Rogers Brown, writing in dissent, said was characterized by an "utter lack of deference to the ordinary constraints of judicial decision-making — deference to state precedent, to federal precedent, to the collective judgment of our Legislature, and, ultimately, to the people we serve."

Brown wrote that "to reach this result, the plurality must ignore the historic limits of the federal Constitution, rewrite the privacy provision of the state Constitution, and abrogate the constitutional interests of parents in an opinion that cannot survive any level of scrutiny, much less strict scrutiny."

Thus this clearly constitutional common sense law merely vanishes at the whim of a one-vote court majority, as though judges, not the people, were sovereign and as though a few individuals' anti-family ideology mattered more than the family itself. The arrogance of these few judges, their evident contempt for the trust the people have placed in them, and the breakdown of civil institutions their actions constitute, require Californians loyal to those institutions and to the blessings they bring to stand up for them against their enemies.

Therefore we signers of this letter, in an effort to remind *all* our public servants that their authority derives solely from the people and that they are responsible to defend, not to attack, our essential social and legal institutions, affirm:

First, that the family is one of our free society's indispensable, bedrock institutions and that, in Justice Stanley Mosk's words, "a parent's right to direct his or her child's upbringing ... [is] among the most basic of civil rights";

Second, that rule of law is another of our free society's indispensable, bedrock institutions and that judges who fail to serve the law abuse their power and betray the peoples' trust;

Third, that Chief Justice Ronald M. George's plurality opinion in *American Academy of Pediatrics v. Lungren* is an attack on the primacy of parents' authority in raising their minor children and on the right of the people to self-government; and

Fourth, we pledge our unwavering support to informing all Californians of what the court has done and why this opinion must be reversed.

_____ _____

Signed *please print name* *date*

_____ _____

Mailing address: City *State and Zip* *daytime telephone*

_____ *yes, I would (or* _____ *no, I would not) like to receive further information about the Parents Rights Coalition. For a one-year subscription to the Coalition's weekly 1-page FAX report (the "Bulletin"), enclose $25.00 payable to California Public Policy Foundation and write your 24-hour dedicated FAX number here:*

(_____) _____

THE PARENTS RIGHTS COALITION *IS A PROJECT OF* THE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION
POST OFFICE BOX 931 • CAMARILLO, CALIFORNIA 93011-0931 · (805) 445-9183

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1997 • VOLUME 8 • NUMBER 6

FEATURES

COVER ARTICLES - The Task Before Us By William A. Rusher 19
Conservatives' unfinished mission: Beyond socialism and the Cold War, the third component of American conservatism remains locked in combat with its foe — the Enlightenment's tendency to reject the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition.

Plus: What Ails California Republicans? McClintock proposes; Kurzweil responds 21

For Republican Leaders, It's Still the Vision Thing By Tom McClintock

The Crisis Neither Begins Nor Ends with Leadership By John Kurzweil

Paying them to weave the rope to hang us By Gregory Sanford 15
The ACLU demands the people they've just raped pay the bill. And the peoples' representatives answer: fine, no problem.

Rallying Cry By Pat Nolan 17
A call to defend the First Amendment.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION, 10/15/97
Title: California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079). Frequency: Bi-monthly. Six issues published annually. Subscription price: $27.00. Location of office of publication: 15456 Ventura Blvd., Ste. 300, Sherman Oaks, Los Angeles County, CA 91403. Publisher's Mailing Address: P.O. Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Publisher: The California Public Policy Foundation, P.O. Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Editor: John Kurzweil, P.O. Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Managing Editor: Jan Edwards P.O. Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Owner: The California Public Policy Foundation, P.O. Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Publication name: California Political Review. Issue date for circulation data below: September/October 1997.

Extent and nature of circulation	Avg. no. copies each issue preceeding 12 months	Actual no. copies of single issue pub. nearest to filing date
A. Total no. copies printed	2681	2750
B1 Paid circulation, Newstands	263	120
B2. Paid circulation, Mail Subscriptions	1460	1760
C. Total paid circulation	1723	1880
D. Free Distribution by Mail	327	400
E. Free Distribution, Not Mail	32	40
F. Total Free Distribution	359	440
G. Total distribution	2082	2320
H1. Copies not distributed, Office	599	430
H2. Copies not distributed, Returned From News Agents	0	0
I. Total	2681	2750
Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation	83%	81%

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. John Kurzweil, Editor

DEPARTMENTS

Correspondence 2
Sacramento Spectator 3
Education By Steve Baldwin 4
The Front Line 5
The Law By Mark S. Pulliam 6
Legislative File 7
Facts about gun control 8
Midnight Economist By William R. Allen 11
Working Press By Tim W. Ferguson 13

ARTS & CULTURE

Criticus Fatherland, Fatherland Show us a Sign 30
Books William R. Allen's *The Midnight Economist* 34
& Peter Hannaford's *Recollections of Reagan* 36

A PUBLICATION OF THE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

A PUBLICATION OF THE
CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

JOHN KURZWEIL
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JAN EDWARDS
MANAGING EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
DAN BRENNAN, LEON S. MCKINNEY
ANJANETTE MILHAM

WILLIAM R. ALLEN • *ECONOMICS CORRESPONDENT*
TIM W. FERGUSON • *THE WORKING PRESS*
LORELEI KINDER • *THE FRONT LINE*
RICHARD MORGAN • *POET LAUREATE*
STEVE BALDWIN • *EDUCATION*
MARK S. PULLIAM • *LEGAL ISSUES CORRESPONDENT*

GENE FOLEY • *BUSINESS MANAGER*
PAUL MCCAULEY • *BUSINESS SERVICES*
ANJANETTE MILHAM • *CIRCULATION MANAGER*
SHAWN STEEL • *LEGAL ADVISOR*

EDITORIAL BOARD

JOSEPH FARAH, PETER HANNAFORD,
DAVID HOROWITZ,
HAROLD JOHNSON, MANUEL S. KLAUSNER,
WILLIAM RUSHER, WILLIAM SARACINO,
G. B. TENNYSON

California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly by the California Public Policy Foundation. Send address changes, manuscripts, and Correspondence to: Editor, *California Political Review*, Post Office Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Unsolicited manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Signed articles express their authors' opinions and do not necessarily reflect the views of the California Public Policy Foundation which does not endorse or oppose candidates or intervene in any candidate election campaign. Unsigned editorials express the editors' opinions and not necessarily the views of the California Public Policy Foundation. Rates: $27 yearly (six issues). Outside U.S. add $4 per year surface, $20 for airmail. *California Political Review* is copyright © 1997 by the California Public Policy Foundation.

California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly for $27 per year by the California Public Policy Foundation, 15456 Ventura Blvd., Suite 300, Sherman Oaks, CA 91403. Second-Class Postage Paid at Van Nuys, CA. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *California Political Review*, P.O. Box 931 Camarillo, CA 93011-0931.

CORRESPONDENCE

Dashed Hope

1994 rekindled my hope for our great nation and state, but the intervening years have made me painfully aware that at both levels we remain on an unwise, liberal course. Republicans wasted a lot of good will wandering around on minor issues while seeming to lack the courage or skill to implement conservate ideas. It only adds to my disappointment to read (*CPR*, September/October 1997) that California Republicans screwed up in 1997, that the Democrats are tearing apart Steve Baldwin's educational reforms, that the California Teachers Association is still driving our schools to a third world level, and that the Supreme Court continues its activism.

Sadly, I think the chance to return to a better course has passed for my lifetime. To read about the continuing decline is only depressing. So I am not renewing my subscription. My decision in no way reflects on your publication.

Paul Propp
Hawthorne

A response to Mr. Propp's letter appears in this issue's "The Front Line," page 5.

A Tad Off

Your *Sacramento Spectator* blurb about *California Journal* in the September/October issue is just a tad off the mark. Yes, our founding editor — Thomas Hoeber — did leave the magazine not long ago, but he did not go to work as press secretary for Assembly Speaker Cruz Bustamante. He left to become national executive director for the Coro Foundation. At the time of his departure, Mr. Hoeber was publisher of the *Journal*. Another *Journal* editor, Richard Zeiger, left the magazine in 1996 after 10 years at the helm. But he didn't go to work for Bustamante either. He left to join a public-relations firm in Sacramento. After a year at that firm, he went to work for the Legislature, as press secretary/consultant to Assembly Majority Leader Antonio Villaraigosa.

As to whether any staffer here has ever worked for a Republican, you may want to note that *California Journal* is owned and published by Information for Public Affairs. Our former vice president is William Hauck, who still serves as a member of IPA's board of directors. Earlier this year, Mr. Hauck was named president of the California Business Roundtable. In the past, he served as a close advisor to Governor Pete Wilson. He also is Wilson appointee to the California State University Board of Trustees. Wilson also tapped him as chairman of the Constitutional Revision Commission in 1995.

A.G. Block, editor
California Journal

Sacramento Spectator responds:

My, my, such thin skin on a publication that regularly butchers facts in a way to make Jack the Ripper envious! I said a Journal "founding editor" had left to work for the Assembly's number one Democrat. In fact, it was their managing editor of 10 years duration. He went to work for the Assembly's number two Democrat, the Majority Floor Leader — the guy in charge of pushing the current ultra-liberal Democrat agenda through the Assembly. I see no substantial difference here, but just 'cuz the Journal is cavalier with facts is no reason we should be.

On whether any Cal Journal "staffer" ever worked for a Republican, the answer still seems to be no, even if a token Republican once served as vice president. Do Cal Journal vice presidents determine or even significantly influence the publication's day-to-day output? I said "staff" — that Mr. Block evidently had to conduct a search through the peripheral officers, past and present, of the parent organization to find a Republican I suppose tells whether someone closer to the product could have fit the bill.

That a 10-year Cal Journal editor feels comfortable working for an ultra-liberal office holder suprises no one. But these somersault attempts to deny their bias are amusing now and then. APC will keep an eye out!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Sometimes it seems your *Spectator* has been in Sacramento since Pio Pico was governor. Yet seldom have I seen the political situation as unsettled as it is looking to 1998. The unresolved law suits over open primaries, term limits, and campaign finance have frozen the best laid plans of politicians across the board.

Dynamics of the governor's race could change drastically if long-time liberal Democrat activist (currently masquerading as a federal judge) Lawrence Karlton throws out Prop. 208's campaign "reforms." It is widely assumed this ruling is one of the things holding up Dianne Feinstein's final decision. Without 208, it will be much easier to raise the big bucks she'll need to be competitive next year. And if I seem unduly suspicious of Komrad Karlton, recall that this same black-robed tyrant overthrew the *last* campaign finance reform — in 1990, just in time to help then-gubernatorial nominee Dianne Feinstein.

Then we have the other long-time Democrat Party hack (currently masquerading as a Ninth Circuit appellate judge) Stephen Reinhardt. Reinhardt currently holds the distinction of having 100 percent of his opinions that have been appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court overturned. His tortured reasoning on the matter of term limits so appalled his Ninth circuit colleagues they "invited" term limit supporters to ask *them* to overturn Reinhardt before the Supremes could do it.

But in the meantime, politicians of all stripes wait and wonder. Frankly, one of the sorriest spectacles I've spectated has been the mainly conservative pols, formerly vociferous term limits defenders, lining up to run again if the limits they insist are good for the state are over-turned. Apparently it was the "other" professional politicians who were the problem, not them. Imagine if liberal term limits opponents had known all you need do *not* to be a "problem" professional politician was *support* limits, then pray for a helpful judge. As your *Spectator* ages (much like a fine wine, actually, so no need to worry), his stomach for hypocrisy from ideologically-friendly politicians diminishes. The conservatives here who ran on term limits platforms who now plan to extend *their* political lives far beyond the limits they championed make me gag.

But that I won't do, since then I could not report a most notable hypocrite within liberal ranks: Don Perata, Assembly Democrat from the east San Francisco Soviet, er, suburbs. Honorable Perata is a leading foe of citizens' right to own firearms. But it turns out the said Honorable, whose voting record is *zero* percent with most pro-Second Amendment groups, *holds a permit to carry a concealed weapon. Your* right to firearms in your home, let alone on your person or in your car, is expendable, but not *his:* he's important.

Perata says unspecified "gun nuts" and "militia types" are after him, so he must defend himself, implying that others who'd like to defend themselves are threatened only by delusions. So, your *Spectator* issues the Perata Challenge: Please inform us, sir, 1) when you were threatened, 2) by whom, 3) which law enforcement agency received your threat report, and 4) how long do they justify your concealed weapons permit? (Don't hold your breath.)

I leave you with this amusing puzzle: Bill and Hillary Clinton are on a sinking ship. Who gets saved? Answer: ʇuǝɯʎnɹ!

—*A. P. C.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

So what *are* they teaching in our schools?

It is true, students in our Democrat-controlled education system can barely read and know little math but — let's be fair — they aren't learning nothing!

STEVE BALDWIN

IT IS no secret among thinking people that the California public school system is one of the worst in the country, if not the industrial world. Various comparative tests show California dead last or near last in reading and math scores. Our drop-out rate is among the highest in the country and the percentage of high school graduates requiring "bone-head" reading or math courses as college freshman is close to 50 percent — and these are our brightest students!

We all generally know the reasons why: it is largely due to our schools' bizarre obsession with failed educational theories and fads such as "whole language," "new new math," "cooperative learning," "inventive spelling," and bilingual education (see my column, "A Curious Syllogism," *CPR*, September/October 1997).

For years, parent groups have called upon educators to go "back to basics," but their voices have largely fallen on deaf ears. What most people don't realize is that the passion of our educational leaders is not directed toward ensuring that our children master basic skills. Instead, their passions are absorbed by social issues having nothing to do with academics: "environmental education," "diversity workshops," health clinics, multiculturalism, and, above all, sex, specifically: homosexual sex. It is apparently unimportant to many educators that our kids cannot read, write, or compute, as long as they learn all about homosexuality and are given every opportunity to indulge in it themselves, even though an estimated 20 percent of homosexual males will die of AIDS before they turn 40.

This last legislative session was inundated with 18 bills sponsored by a huge coalition of homosexual groups and education organizations. Thanks to three Democrats who hail from rural districts, the Republican minority was able to defeat 17 of the bills and the lone bill that made it through to the governor, AB 257 — which would force non-profit groups like the Boy Scouts to hire homosexuals — was vetoed, much to Wilson's credit. However, the most far-reaching of these bills may have been one that was narrowly defeated, AB 101. Essentially, 101 would mandate promotion of homosexuality in our public schools. What few people know is that, despite 101's defeat, its intent is already being fulfilled.

California now has a half-dozen homosexual teacher organizations, some organized down to the school district level. Every major teachers union and curriculum development association, school administrators, and the school board association, all now have homosexual caucuses that meet regularly to discuss how to advance their agenda in our schools — naturally without the knowledge of parents. Many school districts have counseling programs that single out students believed to be "confused," and then place them in contact with outside homosexual "counselors" who set them straight (no pun intended). Los Angeles Unified's (LAUSD) "Project 10" is the model in this regard. Project 10 literature actually urges students to "find their lover at the local gay center."

While schools are doing everything they can to resist teaching basic skills, they are racing each other to integrate homosexual propaganda throughout the curriculum, including literature and history. LAUSD, for example, distributes material informing students that Abe Lincoln was homosexual, as well as dozens of other great men throughout history. LAUSD has even established a purely homosexual high school for what they call "confused" students, taught by homosexuals, called the Eagles Center. Soon, I have no doubt, it will become a model for districts statewide.

BAY AREA school districts routinely urge students to participate in homosexual parades and now several school districts sponsor, and pay for, homosexual proms, which usually involve adult homosexuals from the surrounding community. Mandatory training seminars are now routine at which teachers, who receive a regular day's pay from the taxpayers to attend, are instructed how to promote

CPR education correspondent Assemblyman Steve Baldwin (A.D. 77) was Education Committee chairman in 1996.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FRONT LINE

John Kurzweil

A response to a letter (published in "Correspondence," page 2) from CPR subscriber Mr. Paul Propp:

OK, Mr. Propp, but what will you do now, quit? Real defeat comes only if we lose faith and hope, just as real victory comes in persevering in the truth. Remember the true objective; don't be fooled by the left, which manipulates false images full of sound and fury to scare, to demoralize, to overawe.

Their first lie is to portray the scene they contrive, not the reality of our individual lives, as real. "The evil of the daily press," wrote Kierkegaard, "consists in its being calculated to make, if possible, the passing moment a thousand or ten thousand times more inflated and important than it really is. But all moral elevation consists first and foremost in being weaned from the momentary."

Conservative hope has been rekindled, and seemingly dashed, many times — by Goldwater's nomination, for instance, then by Johnson's landslide. But 1964 launched liberalism toward its final collapse as a living idea. As with Marxism, the end of its worldly power lags behind its loss of moral strength, but that end is inevitable once the lie is known. And the Goldwater campaign made conservatism a national force that captured the White House, then the Supreme Court, then Congress. Of course the left counter-attacked, but regained ground only because too many Americans assumed the battle, which in truth is just beginning, had been won and finished.

Our victory can never be a matter of capturing a few political power bases; that's left thinking, that power is

key. Our faith is in the truth. Our objective is not power, but our own moral elevation. Their objective is to see us join them in their moral squalor. So they ransack the schools, but see, thousands of home schoolers quietly defeat them, imparting education in most cases superior to anything government schools gave in their best days. And Republican political leaders lead poorly, but see, two obscure college professors launch CCRI achieving what an enraged John Vasconcellos called the destruction of "everything we [liberals] have achieved." Ron Unz and Gloria Tuchman will end bilingual education, which those we invested with "power" could not defeat in the 10 years since its legal mandate expired. Unz and Tuchman are invading enemy turf, conquering ground, while those "in power" fear loss of the little they have.

The United States, said the British prestige press of the day, was founded by Yankee Doodle Dandy, a joke figure led by a "general" who'd failed even to win a commission in the British army. But a few years later, at Yorktown, it was "the world turned upside down." A piece of the Berlin Wall rests on a hillside a few miles outside Camarillo, put there by a man most *Republican* leaders, never mind Democrats, at first thought would be no match for Pat Brown.

The battle's front line is rarely found amid the sound and fury. Do not worry so much about restoring the nation to "a better course." *We* — you and I, every one of us — *are* the nation. As Solzhenitsyn wrote, the "essential task is not political liberation, but the liberation of our souls from participation in the lie forced upon us .... It requires from each individual a moral step within his power — *no more than that.*" But also no less. Our better course is within our power, but choosing it requires that we *never* quit. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

homosexuality in the classroom, usually under the guise of "multi-culturalism" or "diversity" programs. Typical material distributed to teachers urges that they "identify gay, lesbian, bisexual contributors through the curriculum (history, literature, art, science, religion) ... bring in openly gay, lesbian, bisexual adults as resources in classes" (quoted from a hand-out distributed at a New Haven, California, School District in-service training session). Incredibly, when the West Covina Unified School District tried to eliminate such taxpayer-funded, mandatory pro-homosexuality indoctrination for their teachers in 1995, a Superior Court judge ordered it restored. The judge said *not* forcing taxpayers to finance, and teachers to attend, these re-education sessions violated the First Amendment "free speech" rights of the pro-homosexual propagandists. Rather than run up further astronomical legal fees fighting this usurpation, the school district gave in and the judge's order took effect just a few weeks ago.

Homosexual guest speakers are now so commonplace in the public schools that one homosexual group, Community United Against Violence, has published a speaker's handbook for homosexual speakers approved by the San Francisco Unified School District. This handbook instructs speakers to play down sex between men and children if asked about it: "It is important to immediately label the topic as 'intergenerational sex', to point out that it is an issue that is not exclusive to the gay community, and to distinguish between consensual sex and forcible rape." Yes, you read it right. A school-approved handbook implies child molestation is fine if it is "consensual"! And, not to be left out, the California Teacher's Association publishes a teacher's calendar, distributed to every public school, which lists "National Coming Out Day" and "Gay and Lesbian Pride Month" as important dates to celebrate with appropriate school programs.

The Sacramento Democrats couldn't be happier. They defeated every bill introduced in the Legislature to prohibit use of state funds for the promotion or advocacy of homosexuality. Indeed, Democrat Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin was the keynote speaker at the recent state convention of "Bangle," one of California's larger homosexual teacher organizations. Bangle provides, among other services, legal assistance for homosexual teachers charged with molesting students. Eastin exhorted the militant homosexual teachers to continue their indoctrination campaign, urging all schools to hold "in-service training for teachers on how to provide services to our gay and lesbian youth." Now you know why average California high school students can't write a resumé that makes sense but can talk for hours about the history of sexual deviancy from Abe Lincoln to RuPaul. Johnny can't read, but he knows where to find the local "gay" community center. CPR

THE LAW

Ron George's Encore?

We're almost afraid to ask:
Why is deciding the obvious taking so long?

MARK S. PULLIAM

NOW THAT Chief Justice Ron George and his colleagues on the California Supreme Court have successfully completed their *jihad* against California's parents, in the form of the rehearing and reversal of the original decision in *American Academy of Pediatrics v. Lungren,* what will they do for an encore? I ask this question with trepidation, because I don't want to give them any ideas. I fear that the next activist *tour de force* may be destroying the Cub Scouts/Boy Scouts as we now know them. A strong charge, to be sure, but not without justification. Consider this:

The California Supreme Court has before it two critically important cases involving the Boy Scouts, raising essentially the same issues: (1) Is this non-profit organization a "business establishment" subject to the "public accommodations" provisions of the Unruh Act, and therefore forbidden "arbitrarily" to discriminate on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, and religion?; and (2) if so, does the organization have a constitutional right of "free association" or "associa-

Mark S. Pulliam, California Political Review's *legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LEGISLATIVE FILE

A look at Assembly votes on some provocative (readers may decide whether they are "good" or "bad") bills that died last session. Why? First, because dead bills often rise from the grave, second, they indicate where the losers would take the state if they gain sufficient power to do so, and, third, votes cast on controversial bills, whether or not the bills die, often presage the next year's campaign issues, especially in "swing" districts.

Assembly Constitutional Amendment 11 — a playful little measure by Assemblywoman Debra Bowen (AD 53-Torrance) to permit the Legislature to amend already qualified ballot propositions to make sure the voters do nothing really foolish. ACA 11 garnered 36 votes on the Assembly floor and is now on the Assembly "Inactive File," awaiting reconsideration at the request of its author (and possibly a future incumbent-protecting gerrymander).

How They Voted — ACA 11 — June 5, 1997: All but eight Assembly Democrats voted yes; all but one Republican opposed it. Democrats opposed: Sally Havice (AD 56-Artesia), Wally Knox (AD 42-Los Angeles), Jack Scott (AD 44-Pasadena), and Scott Wildman (AD 43-Glendale). Democrats not voting: Denise Ducheny (AD 79-National City), Dick Floyd (AD 55-Carson), Michael Machado (AD 17-Stockton), Michael Sweeney (AD 18-Hayward). Republicans voting "aye": Brett Granlund (AD 65-Yucaipa).

Senate Bill 1113 (vetoed by Wilson) — by Senator Hilda Solis (SD 24-El Monte), a measure invoking "environmental racism" as an added reason to push people around through regulation.

How They Voted — AB 1113, September 9, 1997: Every Democrat but two voted yes; every Republican but two opposed it. Passed the Assembly, 42-36, (the two GOP votes were its margin of victory.) Democrats opposed: Michael J. Machado (AD 17-Stockton), Dennis Cardoza (AD 26-Turlock). Republicans voting "aye": Peter Frusetta (AD 28-Hollister), Jim Morrissey (AD 69-Santa Ana). Republicans not voting: Robert Prenter (AD 30-Hanford).

Assembly Bill 1162 — as reported in Assemblyman Steve Baldwin's "Education" column last issue, this is a measure by Assemblywoman Sally Havice (AD 56-Artesia) to drop funding, passed in 1996, from the 1997-98 budget for a phonics training program for teachers — a move against public schools' return to phonics, which Democrats have long opposed. After 1162 passed the Assembly, 42-36, Democrats agreed during budget negotiations to let the measure die in the Senate.

How They Voted — AB 1162 — June 4, 1997: In the Assembly, every Democrat but one voted for the measure; all but one Republican opposed it. Democrats not voting: Diane Martinez (AD 49-Alhambra). Republicans not voting: Robert Prenter (AD 30-Hanford).

Watch for these votes to emerge as key issues next year in "swing" districts. Sally Havice's 1996 margin of victory was 1,941 votes; Scott Wildman's was 544 votes; and Dennis Cardoza's was 86 votes, all in a good year for Democrats. These seats will be among the most hotly-contested Assembly races next year. Voters in these districts may have the opportunity (as the campaigns will certainly tell them repeatedly) to decide California's future regarding initiatives, phonics, and "environmental racism." CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tional privacy" that would permit it to exclude as members and adult leaders persons who do not meet its criteria or share its values?

Who could possibly be opposed to the Boy Scouts, you might ask, and what type of controversial values does the organization stand for? Its long-standing values (as old as the organization itself), and the conflict they supposedly present to California's "non-discrimination" laws, provide a sad commentary on our secularized, politically-correct culture and our legal system's willingness to sacrifice the interests of the majority to those of an aggressive and destructive minority.

The Boy Scouts, you see, are for boys. (This unremarkable fact has spawned a lawsuit by a girl who was excluded for that reason, which is also now pending before the state high court.) More fundamentally, the Boy Scouts embrace as values (among other things) devotion to God and adherence to traditional morality. Although the Boy Scouts are non-denominational, and not even an exclusively Christian group, the organization promotes religious faith and opposes homosexuality. As a condition of membership, Scouts must literally pledge to honor these values, and adult leaders must exemplify them. The collision between the Boy Scouts' values and those reflected in our modern culture (the increasingly wide gap that prompts many parents to participate in Scouting) occurs when atheist children (or, more accurately, the children of atheist parents) desire to belong to the Boy Scouts without taking the "Scout Oath," and when adult homosexuals desire to be adult leaders notwithstanding the Boy Scouts' objection to homosexuality.

WHO PREVAILS in this conflict? The question is not a difficult one. In other states and in the federal courts, the Boy Scouts have won, and California should not be any different. But given the current direction of the California Supreme Court, don't count on it. Commentators and court watchers across the political spectrum are beginning to agree that Chief Justice Ron George is steering the court to the left (or, in the code

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By WILLIAM E. SARACINO

Inspired by the even more than usually ill-informed, not to say hysterical, debates on repealing the Second Amendment that characterized the just-concluded legislative session, this new regular feature adopts the novel approach of considering Facts about guns, gun control, and gun owners.

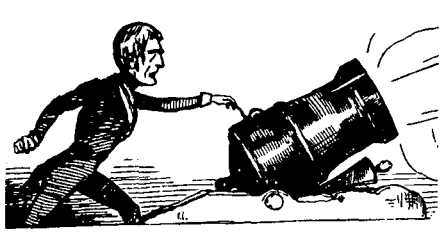
Vetoing SB 500

Governor Wilson's veto of SB 500, the so called "Saturday Night Special" gun bill, has received much flack from the usual, uninformed sources. As a relief from the tedium of liberal whining, consider these facts. (Imagine such a thing in political dialogue!) The bill's sponsors said it would eliminate "junk guns" and was needed because such guns were "dangerous to their users," "prone to misfire and malfunction," and were crooks' "weapon of choice."

William E. Saracino is executive director of Gunowners of California.

User safety

There has never been a successful prosecution of the manufacturer of any of these guns based on malfunction, misfire, explosion, or any product liability consumer safety issue. If such suits were viable, would California's zillions of blood-sucking trial attorneys be silent? No indeed. Were these guns dangerous to their users as claimed, trial attorneys would be lined up for miles to sue. They aren't.



The "weapon of choice"

According to the California Department of Justice, short barreled hand guns were used in 13 percent of all violent crimes statewide. In the city of Los Angeles, hardly a bastion of law and order, these guns were used in only 3 percent of violent crimes.

And, of the many millions of such handguns in private hands in California, less than 3 tenths of one percent (that's 0.03%) are ever used in any type of crime.

Governor Wilson used facts, not emotion, in vetoing this frontal assault on the Bill of Rights. Well done, Pete. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paid for by Legal Affairs Council

Tired of federal judges throwing out California ballot initiatives?

(Prop 187, Prop 209 and now term limits for politicians)

Write to U.S. Senator Trent Lott, Majority Leader, urge a "NO" vote on Clinton's U.S. District Court nominee, Margaret Morrow

Judicial Selection Monitoring Project

A project of the Free Congress Foundation's Center for Law & Democracy,

Co-sponsored by Legal Affairs Council

And the following Project Supporters:

Alabama Family Alliance
American Assoc. of Christian Schools
American Conservative Union
American Constitutional Law Foundation
American Family Assoc.
Americans for Tax Reform
Arizona Family Research Institute
Arkansas Family Council
Assoc. of Christian Schools Intl.
Black Family Forum
Center for Individual Rights
Center for New Black Leadership
Christian Action Network
Christian Coalition
Citizens Against Violent Crime
Citizens for Law & Order
Citizens United
Coalitions for America
Concerned Citizens of Florida
Concerned Women for America
Conservative Campaign Fund
Defenders of Property Rights
Delaware Family Foundation
Eagle Forum
The Family Foundation (VBA)
Family Research Council
Family Taxpayer's Network (IL)
Free Speech Advocates
Freedom Alliance
George Public Policy Foundation
Home School Legal Defense Assoc.
Independent Women's Forum
Individual Rights Foundation
Institute for Justice
Landmark Legal Foundation
Lincoln Legal Foundation
Memory of Victims Everywhere
Michigan Family Forum
Minnesota Family Council
National Assoc. of Evangelicals
National Coalition for Restoration of the Black Family
National Family Foundation
National Law Center for Children & Families
National Legal Foundation
National Legal & Policy Center
National Parents' Commission
National Tax Limitation Committee
New Yorkers Family Research Foundation
New Yorkers for Constitutional Freedoms
Organized Victims of Violent Crime
Pennsylvania Parents Commission
Resource Institute of Oklahoma
Save America's Youth
Southeastern Legal Foundation
Students for America
Texas Public Policy Foundation
Traditional Values Coalition
United Seniors Assoc.
U.S. Business & Industrial Council

An open letter to Senator Trent Lott, Majority Leader
(we urge readers to send this letter with your own cover letter to Senator Trent Lott, SR-487 Russell Senate Office Bldg., Washington, DC 20510-2403

Dear Senator Lott;

We strongly oppose the nomination of Margaret Morrow to the U.S. District Court for one or more of the following reasons.

First, her activities and writings reveal aggressive advocacy of liberal political causes and the view that courts and the law can be used to effect political and social change. This combination foretells liberal judicial activism on the bench. She wants bar associations to take "a strong active voice" on political issues and has written that he law is "on the cutting edge of social thought" and "the vehicle through which we ease the transition from the rules which have been to the rules which are to be." She opposes any restrictions on blatantly political litigation by the Legal Services Corporation.

Second, as Senator Charles Grassley has said, Morrow's "judgement and candor are under a great deal of question." Morrow twice withheld nearly 40 articles, reports and speeches from the Senate Judiciary Committee, including those clearly reflecting her activist approach to the law. She refused to answer Senators' legitimate questions following her hearing, and eventually provided answers that Senator Grassley called "false and misleading."

Finally, and perhaps most important, Americans now know what Morrow's wholesale condemnation of direct democracy will mean if she becomes a federal judge. She has written that "any real hope of intelligent voting" by the people on ballot measures is only "ephemeral." On October 8, the U.S. Court of Appeals in California implemented that same view and swept aside an initiative enacted by Californians because two judges thought the voters did not understand what they were doing. It is clear that Morrow will be yet another judge more than willing to substitute her own elitist judgements for the will of the people.

A nominee who believes the courts can be used to enact liberal political and social policy, whose "judgement and candor are under a great deal of question," and who will undermine democracy, has no place on the federal bench.

Sincerely,

Senator Ray Haynes
In behalf of Legal Affairs Council and the
Judicial Selection Monitoring Project

Donations urgently needed to help pay for this work. Paid for by Legal Affairs Council, Richard A. Delgaudio, President, Freedom Center, 3554 Chain Bridge Road, Suite 301, Fairfax, VA 22030.

We also urge readers to write a letter of support for H.R. 1170, which would require three judges in the future to strike down ballot initiatives. Introduced by Congressman Sonny Bono, 324 Cannon House Office Bldg., Washington, DC 20515-0544.

1028ad.L97

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liberals use, to the "center," since they deny that there is a "left"). Gerald Uelmen, who, when he is not representing O.J. Simpson, is the dean of Santa Clara University School of Law, says that "[r]arely do we see California Supreme Court justices dramatically shift their positions and alter the direction of the court. But that's exactly what has happened under the leadership of [Ron George]." A profile of the "George court's" first year in the September 1997 issue of the *California Bar Journal,* the official publication of the state Bar of California, confirms that "George and [Associate Justice Kathryn] Werdegar have emerged as moderates since [Chief Justice Malcolm] Lucas retired." The *California Bar Journal* article also cites *American Academy of Pediatrics v. Lungren* as evidence of "[t]he centrist shift of the George court," and, remarkably, applauds the 4-3 decision overturning California's parental consent statute as the "defining opinion" of the current court. The profile concludes with this chilling thought: "Every indication is that when Lucas retired, he took the conservative disposition of the court with him. If the current centrist [*sic*] trend continues, the coming year could redefine the character of a once conservative court." In other words, things are going to get *worse.* How?

To return to my opening theme, the California Supreme Court has before it two cases that could destroy the Boy Scouts (or even the concept of private association), one involving the atheist scenario *(Randall v. Orange County Council)* and one involving a homosexual adult leader *(Curran v. Mount Diablo Council).* The Supreme Court granted review in *Randall* and *Curran* on June 2, 1994, almost *three and one-half years ago.* The last brief was filed in December 1995, almost two years ago. Yet the cases have not yet been decided or even scheduled for oral argument. This delay represents an eternity in a simple civil case.

What are we to make of this? There are several possibilities. The simplest is that the judicial process is hopelessly slow and inefficient and that the interminable delay is merely routine. For example, the *Curran* case *began* with the expulsion of an avowed homosexual activist from the Boy Scouts in 1980 and has been bouncing around California's court system for *17 years.* The *Randall* case began in 1990 when twin sons of an atheist attorney were denied advancement in the Cub Scouts because they failed to complete the religion achievement requiring the boys to profess belief in God. A trial court, affirmed by the court of appeal, forced the Cub Scouts to allow the dissidents to continue in Scouting. Seven years later, the boys, now 16 (and apparently still atheists), are ready to receive the Eagle Scout rank, much to the Boy Scouts' chagrin.

The litigation in both cases has been marked by extraordinary delay, but the prolonged limbo in the California Supreme Court is particularly unusual. The *Curran* and *Randall* cases are the oldest civil cases on the court's docket. Why? The cases are not complex, so it is unlikely that the justices are unable to arrive at a consensus as to how the cases should be decided. The most recent decisions by the intermediate appellate courts in California — the *Merino* case in San Diego and the *Yeaw* case in Sacramento — ruled in favor of the Boy Scouts, as did the court of appeal in *Curran.* Since this makes the ruling against the Boy Scouts in *Randall* (over the eloquent dissent of Presiding Justice David Sills) an aberration, one would expect the Supreme Court to overturn *Randall* and affirm *Curran.* If this is what the Supreme Court intended to do, it could have decided the cases years ago.

MIGHT ANOTHER explanation account for the delay? An unmistakable inference emerges that a majority of the court intends to rule against the Boy Scouts, but is reluctant to face the political fallout such a decision would produce, especially in the wake of *Lungren,* prior to the November 1998 retention elections of Ron George and Justices Stanley Mosk, Janice Rogers Brown, and Ming W. Chin. If this suspicion is valid, the court will not set these cases for hearing until September 1998 (or later) so that the decision can be issued after the election. The Rose Bird Court played this game in 1978 with its *People v. Tanner* decision, striking down a popular "use a gun, go to prison" law. It appears Ron George and his "centrist" colleagues may have learned a few of her tricks.

As with the *Lungren* decision, look for Justice Stanley Mosk to dissent in *Curran* and *Randall,* as he did from a 1985 Rose Bird-era decision *(Isbister v. Boy's Club of Santa Cruz, Inc.)* that forced Boys Clubs to accept girls. Dissenting in *Isbister,* Mosk prophetically wrote: "[b]y protecting the freedom to base [private] associations on personal affinities, society promotes its pluralism, with all the values that connotes — values such as a diversity of views, a variety of ideas, and preservation of traditions." Alas, modern liberals wish to intrude into the most intimate parts of private life to suffocate diversity, to suppress ideas, and to extinguish traditions.

There is one way the Court could prove me wrong (and as the parent of a Cub Scout, I hope that I am wrong): It could set *Curran* and *Randall* for hearing in the next six months, ensuring that a decision would be issued in time to allow the voters to consider whether the justices deserve to be retained in November 1998. But I'm not holding my breath. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A little *constructive* critism, please

An injection of competence and character, more than the jettisoning of tenure, is the cure for what ails the campus.

WILLIAM R. ALLEN

EVERY INSTITUTION and profession is susceptible to fair criticism. One can fault much in the church, in Congress, and in the law, medicine, and gardening. And the realm of higher education, too, has its weaknesses and vulnerabilities.

The commonly-found problems and peccadilloes of colleges and universities include: perennial increase in tuition faster than the rate of inflation; lack of dispassionate professionalism in admitting students, specifying degree requirements, and hiring and promoting faculty; near-hysterical impatience, intolerance, and impropriety in public and private debate. But a recent book finds that the campus is *nothing* but "one of society's most outrageous and elaborate frauds." And the fault lies *wholly* on the self-centered and self-serving faculty.

It *is* true that the campus can be a haven of the inept, the lazy, the useless, even the subversive. It *is* true that overspecialized research on artificial topics of minutiae can be accorded excessive glamor while systematic teaching of truth is correspondingly denigrated.

Still, the purportedly apoplectic critic should add some things. One is that professors, like real people, vary in competence and accomplishment. The worst are parasites; but the best are impressive and even useful. As a university professor, I have tenure. Tenure provides job protection for teachers and scholars. UCLA could not fire me for any initiative short of seducing the dean's wife on the library steps at high noon.

Tenure, like other institutions and ground rules, is subject to abuse. And what is subject to abuse assuredly will be abused upon occasion. It has been said, with substantial justification, that tenure is for mediocrities: those who can well meet the competition of the academic market do not require assurance of employment. Indeed, the *more* able faculty can be injured by protection which is valuable mainly to the *less* able, partly because of the probable imposed trade-off of tenure in exchange for lower salaries for all faculty.

In any profession, the very good are outnumbered by the mediocre. Even with the tenure arrangement, the best people can be treated badly by the multitude of mediocrities; but without tenure the best — and the valuable but non-brilliant mavericks — may not survive at all. The pressures on faculty against which tenure is to provide protection are commonly supposed to come from the community: spiteful students, disgruntled parents, politicians on the make, sensationalist journalists. Such pressures do exist. But there is, in addition, danger from within the upper echelon of the school community: biased, belligerent faculty members and administrators who do not like conservatives — or liberals; who do not like Jews — or gentiles; who do not like virtually sole reliance on mathematical doodling in research papers — or substantial reliance on literary presentation.

Tenured security *does* weaken the relation between productivity and pay. But it weakens also the possible tyranny of the mediocre majority. The tool of tenure *can* be a device to saddle the school with favored faculty of little accomplishment or promise. It can also be a shield against personal and ideological perversion of the productive but unpopular scholar and teacher.

It is naive to suppose that the problems of universities as teaching-and-learning institutions are confined to slothful or inept faculty protected by tenure. It is true that you cannot learn what you do not study. And to learn much requires a resolution and a sense — a maturing professionalism, if you please — which does not well characterize the bulk of the college clientele.

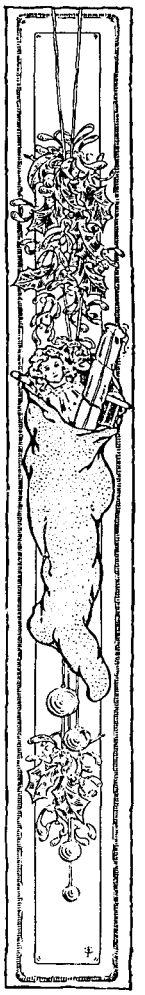
NEITHER MAINTENANCE nor abolition of tenure, by itself, will save us. The quality of higher education and its value to the community turns on more than the arrangement of employment and job-security for the faculty. No structure of legalisms can be the ultimate determinant of how we individually look at the world, formulate our criteria and aspirations, and carry ourselves in our dealings with others, ourselves, and our work.

With or without tenure provisions, the life of the mind requires commitment and competence by teacher, student, *and* administrators who stay out of the way of scholars doing the real work of the school. Character outweighs institutional constitution. CPR

William R. Allen, richly warrants the tenure he has long held in the UCLA Department of Economics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fill someone's stocking with **common sense**



Stuff it with this.

California Political Review for Christmas continues to give throughout the new year. Surely you know someone tired of the monotonous liberal barrage from the major media. A friend anxious to declare independence from the creaking, derelict statism of the left? A student, perhaps, in need of intellectual resuscitation after too many lectures from former '60s radicals now masquerading as learned professors?

Just fill in the form below, mail it, and **CPR** and a Christmas gift card with your name will be on its way. Avoid the fuss of shopping, wrapping, and packing.

Each new subscription costs just $14.95 — that's more than 40% below the cover price!

I would like to send ____ gift subscriptions to:

Name _____ Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

City _____ City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

(For additional subscriptions, use your own stationery, and return with this form.)

My Name Is:

Donor _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

I shall pay just $14.95 each:

☆ ____ **Check** *(payable to the California Public Policy Foundation)*

☆ ____ **Credit Card:** MasterCard ____ Visa ____ Card # _____

Expiration Date _____ Signature _____

Or, call: 1-800-887-7676

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Good, old-fashioned civic crusades

Mark Willes sets out to reunite the Times with its suburban middle-class base.

TIM W. FERGUSON

WHEN MARK WILLES, now the publisher of the *Los Angeles Times* as well as CEO of parent Times Mirror Corp., told the *Wall Street Journal* that he wanted to energize the gray porpoise with some good, old-fashioned civic crusades, you had to wonder. If Willes, thought by friend and foe alike to have the basic aim of reuniting the *Times* with its suburban middle-class base, is going to connect with those folks, it's hard to see how he'll do it with his existing staff. The *Times* newsroom, you'll recall, is the land of the Diversity Caucus, the all-liberal bank of political columnists and the PC stylebook. Its collective sensibility is outraged by a minimum wage on which you can't "raise a family," an under-representation (for whatever reason) of protected minorities in any desirable occupation or university, and "intolerance" (meaning, lack of legal or social recognition) shown "non-traditional lifestyles." It has not similarly been aroused by corrupt, stupid, or dishonest public officials on the left (especially if the person in question is in a protected class), by panhandling bums blighting public spaces, or by suffocating and arrogant bureaucracy. In other words, not by things that burn the middle class.

It has been necessary for guerrilla competitors such as the *Daily News,* based in the San Fernando Valley, or *New Times LA,* a free weekly, to fill this outrage void on numerous occasions. Lately, there have been hints that the *Times* is waking up: editorially, it refused to join the Los Angeles City Council majority in excusing a member "of color" — Mike Hernandez — found to be a regular crack/cocaine buyer near a schoolground. But the fount of all those news articles that paint Los Angeles in shades of class warfare runs deep. Mark Willes implies changes will come faster now that he has put himself in direct charge. Hurry, man. The suspense is killing us.

One little bit of *Times*-think: A profile of Prof. John Hope Franklin, the very race-conscious chairman of President Clinton's panel on race relations in America (and co-author of the notorious California textbook *Land of the Free* from the 1960s), was notable for its headline: "He Served America *Anyway.*" Yes, the emphasis is added, but no one is likely to have missed the point in the original.

The *Orange County Register* thought it was time to address delicately (on Page 1) the matter of state Sen. Bill Craven, who has had for some time what they like to call in junior high school an "attendance problem." A rather severe one because, as the *Register* noted, he'd been missing 90 percent of the upper house's votes since the start of the year. The matter is touchy because he's suffering from emphysema and diabetes. But the subject also is politically loaded because Republican Sen. Craven, 76, is of the old get-along, go-along school of GOP legislators. Translation: he's been a pretty safe vote (he used to vote more often) for the Democrat leadership's bills. Therefore, for reasons of representation as well as partisanship (his northern San Diego County/southern Orange County district is rock-solid conservative), it might legitimately be suggested that Sen. Craven kindly step aside before his scheduled term limit in 1998. Particularly when, as the *Register* demurely noted late in the story, he has not been shy about milking the taxpayers for per diems despite his virtual invisibility in the Capitol. But then, it would be rather rude to suggest that — disturbing of the comity that our legislative bodies enjoy as long as everybody (re-

Tim W. Ferguson is California Political Review's *press critic.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

porters, too) observes the rules of the game.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

The *San Francisco Examiner* is probably less doctrinaire than its sister the *Chronicle,* which may explain its lengthy coverage this summer of MTBE, the gasoline additive that is supposed to make our cars burn cleaner but which critics on the right and left argue is contaminating ground water. You have not read so much about this pollutant because the established environmental groups were active in pushing "reformulated gas" and it is those groups, working with their kept journalists, that generate most stories about toxins in our midsts. Further, because the oil lobby has bought into MTBE, there aren't even the usual, reliable industry sources to stoke a controversy. So it takes a little more initiative and judgment on a reporter's part to wade into this muck.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

While Sacramento politicians pleased middle-class constituents by reversing some of the "fee" increases at the state's four-year schools, a RAND subsidiary issued a report trumpeting a "fiscal crisis in California higher education." That got momentary press attention, but the mismatch between population trends and college capacity was soon lost in the hubbub over gun laws and Pete Wilson's latest presidential aspirations. But the gap is there, and a few crazy Cal State Monterey Bays are not going to fill it. The RAND analysts offered some useful suggestions, such as having the university campuses specialize so they don't offer overlapping programs. But the main emphasis of the report is on allocating billions more tax dollars for higher ed. Surely that logic holds if the state is going to offer college courses for next to nothing: it will face an enrollment tidal wave. If, however, California were to continue raising fees to equilibrate demand with supply, the "fiscal crisis in higher education" need never occur. However, that would mean questioning the idea that a university degree is an appropriate aim for most high school grads. Bill Clinton thinks so; could he be wrong about that? Will some newspaper — if not some politician — raise that question?

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

Lest anyone begin to forget the outrages of the California Bar, past president Charles Lindner reminded us with an *L.A. Times* op-ed, "The State Judiciary's Headlong Retreat From Independence." His basic indictment: by upholding term limits, the justices invited all sorts of legislative trampling on their domain. The peg for this broadside apparently was the resistance to appropriating money for new trial judges (which ultimately was granted by Gov. Wilson's unfortunate concession on unionization of court staffs). At the end of his sweeping argument, Mr. Lindner Esq. announced, in contrasting the Malcolm Lucas court with the great days of Roger Traynor and the Pat Brown chief justices who preceded him, "The judicial golden age had turned to lead." Wait! Wait! There's still hope, Chuck! Ron George lives!

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

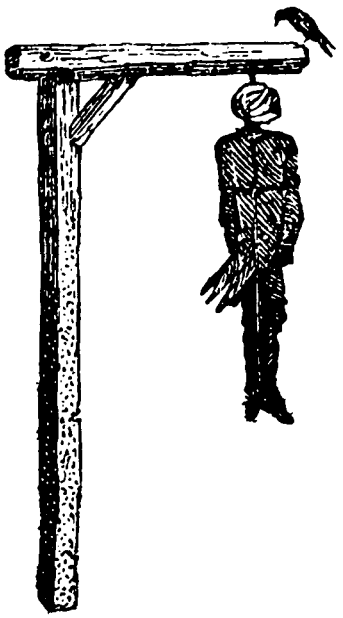
Lots of papers have carried articles about "road rage," the increase in aggressive, ill-mannered driving that (less remarked upon) has accompanied the onset of oversized sport-utility vehicles. But little attention has been focused on how inattentive law enforcement is to this problem. Judging by how rarely these road menaces seem to be pulled over, they must not be a high priority. Instead, the cops prefer to continue cherry picking speeders in uncongested stretches or snagging "DUI" offenders just over .08 as they leave bar zones. Tickets these days, with expensive surcharges, produce a bounty of fine revenue for governments and business for the traffic-school racket.

Meanwhile, the papers note the chorus of complaints every time gasoline prices spike up, although here they usually do observe the role that the gas-guzzling sport-utes play. The *New York Times,* by the way, has produced two significant articles this year on how the SUVs pose a particular crash hazard to other motorists. Still, the arms race in motor vehicles continues — pretty soon we'll all have to drive M1 tanks at five miles to the gallon.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

For cyber-readers, crusading conservative Joseph Farah's internet address, www.worldnetdaily.com, is one of a number of sites that function as a clearinghouse for news you'd normally have to pay for. In this case, it's also a ticket to information you can't buy elsewhere. *Worldnetdaily* connects to the web pages of five California papers (and several others across the country) while also providing a menu of stories the establishment press has downplayed or spiked. Some of that stuff is of the Matt Drudge variety, but consenting adults can decide for themselves. Most of the state news at *Worldnetdaily* is to be found through the web pages of the *L.A. Times, Sacramento Bee, San Diego Union-Tribune, SF Chronicle* and *San Jose Mercury.* All are free at the moment (the *Merc* charges for inside stuff). Some of the sites are better than others, and none does a great job of updating the paper's stories during the day — such as with late election results. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Paying them to weave the rope to hang us

Some, in our democracy, are more equal than others, and when the left dislikes a law the peoples' representatives have passed, it sues in San Francisco where the law is malleable and judges cooperative, charges Rolls-Royce-level legal fees, and then demands the people who've just been raped pay the bill. And guess what? Said peoples' representatives answer: fine, no problem.

By GREGORY SANFORD

IT WAS JUST a three-inch filler in the *Sacramento Bee:* "$2 million to eight lawyers." A small window, but an unusually well-placed one, through which to view the degraded farce that California's legal system has become. The bare bones are these: taxpayers have been forced to pay nearly $2 million in legal fees to American Civil Liberties Union and other attorneys whose lawsuit was used to plow under California's parental consent for minors' abortion law. Forcing taxpayers to pay the ACLU to subvert our democratic process, it turns out, is more or less a matter of routine. SB 291, the bill authorizing the payment, passed the Legislature with only four "no" votes in either house. (GOP Assemblymembers Steve Baldwin, Lynne C. Leach, Curt Pringle, and Bruce Thompson voted "no." Not voting were Republicans Jim Battin and Tom McClintock and Democrat Senator Ralph Dills.) Every other legislator voted "yes" on the bill signed by Governor Pete Wilson October 3. *And* a legislative analysis of SB 291 listed Attorney General Dan Lungren in "support," with no opposition.

Republican support was essential because SB 291 was an "urgency" measure requiring a two-thirds "yes" vote to pass (as such it would take effect as soon as signed into law, rather than waiting for January 1). The *Sacramento Bee* report said "fees of $1,930,261 were set by the same San Francisco judge who ruled that the parental consent law was unconstitutional after a four-week trial in 1994." The fees, which do not cover later appellate work against parental consent, also do not include taxpayer costs of the attorney general's defense of the statute.

Judges + ACLU + Legislators = Watch Your Wallet

Let us digest for a minute what is going on here. First, we have the by-now routine betrayal of trust by the state's appellate judges who trample the law they swear to serve. The case involved here, *American Academy of Pediatrics v. Lungren,* has been thoroughly analyzed in these pages.* For the present, I will, for anyone unfamiliar with the case, limit comment to a single quotation from Justice Brown's dissent: "The fundamental flaw running throughout [George's *Lungren* opinion] is the utter lack of deference to the ordinary constraints of judicial decisionmaking — deference to state precedent, to

*See, in *CPR's* September/October 1997 issue, "The Arrogance of Ron George" by *CPR* legal issues correspondent Mark S. Pulliam and "A Decision Utterly Lacking in Deference," excerpts from Justice Janice Rogers Brown's *Lungren* dissent. In *CPR's* July/August 1996 issue, see Pulliam's "Snatching Defeat from the Jaws of Victory," and "The View from the Bench," an exclusive *CPR* interview with the Dishonorable Chief Justice Ronald M. George. — *editor*

Gregory Sanford is a writer living in Southern California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

federal precedent, to the collective judgment of our Legislature, and, ultimately, to the people we serve."

Second, we have the ACLU, the elite vanguard troops of a movement whose great spiritual awakening came 30 years ago slopping with the hogs at Woodstock, an organization so alienated from the American people that 1988 Democrat presidential nominee Michael Dukakis's candidacy was largely destroyed by the single revelation that he had been an ACLU member. Not content merely to mount repeated assaults on free enterprise, religion, the family, democracy, and rule of law, this group proceeds to rob the very people it has raped, so as to reward itself for its generous services.

THIRD, IRONICALLY, WITHIN days of approving SB 291, 38 Republican legislators, including many who voted *for* the ACLU award, signed a letter to the attorney general commending his "commitment to restoring the right to parental involvement in a minor's abortion decision." How can such things be? One source in the Capitol said legislators, who vote on thousands of bills each session, regularly cast votes on legislation relying upon bill summaries or often upon no more than assurances of authors that a measure is "noncontroversial." Some of these Republicans, the source said, "would certainly have opposed this measure if they had known what it contained." That seems a bit thin as an excuse, especially since the practice of forcing taxpayers to reimburse ACLU attorneys' fees is not new. Similar legislation has passed previously after courts have erased other inconveniences enacted by the legislative and executive branches. Also, a bill analysis available to all Assembly Republicans clearly indicated that SB 291 included the $2 million payment. In the Senate, however, things were different.

A running battle has been waged all year between Senate Democrat Leader Bill Lockyer and GOP senators over Republican staff positions Lockyer has refused to fill. These staffers, had they been hired, would be available to prepare GOP bill analyses, independent of the official summaries coming from the Office of Senate Floor Analyses. Lockyer says Republicans don't need their own analyses, that the "non-partisan" official summaries are perfectly adequate. But Republicans dislike depending for critical information upon an office the Democrats control, all their protestations of non-partisanship notwithstanding.

Lockyer, however, wouldn't bend — then along came SB 291, an innocuous bill introduced by Democrat Senator Byron Sher to pay specific legal costs for judgments and claims filed against California. It contained no ACLU payout provision when it was voted out of the Senate 38-0. In the Assembly, however, a late amendment added the ACLU money. A handful of GOP Assemblymembers noticed the outrage and, as noted above, voted no.

But back in the Senate, all mention of the payout was somehow eliminated from the final version that members received of Bill Lockyer's "non-partisan," "unbiased" analysis. An original 291 analysis, written by an Office of Floor Analyses employee, *does* state that "$1.9 million" is included for "attorneys' fees" and interest in the case of "*American Academy of Pediatrics, et al v Daniel E. Lungren*" — but *not* the version that reached the floor, whereupon GOP senators provided the extra votes the "urgency" measure required. Later, when the two contrary summaries of 291 came to light, the Office of Floor Analyses suggested a computer "glitch" must have occurred, gulping exactly the sentences about the ACLU and nothing whatever more. Hmmm.

If dishonest tactics were employed in the Senate to secure 291's passage, it would only be consistent with everything else about this tawdry business, sabotaging the democratic process to eliminate, at no matter what cost, parental consent. The law by which the ACLU boodle was awarded (Code of Civil Procedure section 1021.5) specifies that, before such an award can be made, a legal action must result "in the enforcement of an important right affecting the public interest" and further requires that it confer a "significant benefit ... on the general public or a large class of persons." And who do you suppose is entrusted to decide whether these criteria have been met? As reported in the *Sacramento Bee*, "the same San Francisco judge who ruled that the parental consent law was unconstitutional." So how much more polluted can a convenient little computer glitch make this already putrid pool?

AT BOALT HALL and California's other elite lawyer factories one may hear lectures explaining that "law" is a delusion the exploiting classes invent to keep the people down, that the only reality in social organization is power, and that thus the proceedings within court rooms, legislative chambers, classrooms, newsrooms — anyplace where, ostensibly, truth and good are to be separated from lies and evil — that such proceedings are all farce masking an endless struggle where the only real determinant of outcome is brute strength. This is the view of life that brought us World War II. As we blithely tramp into this morbid night, none can say we were not told where we are headed. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rallying Cry

A Call to Defend the First Amendment

by Pat Nolan

Amidst assaults on free speech in the guise of "campaign reform" and on freedom of association through an attack on the Boy Scouts, an effort to lay siege to the First Amendment's religious freedom guarantees could not be far behind. It wasn't.

THE INK was hardly dry on the U.S. Supreme Court's June 25, 1997, *City of Boerne v. Flores* decision, which struck down the federal Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA), when government officials across the nation began to restrict religious activities. In the *Boerne* case, the Court ruled that the city of Boerne's historic preservation ordinance could prohibit a local church from expanding its sanctuary because the ordinance applied to all property owners, secular and religious alike. *Essentially, the Court allowed the city's desire to promote tourism to supersede the local congregation's need for a church large enough to worship together.*

• Immediately after the Court issued its decision, local prosecutors in Pennsylvania served notice on 20 Christian day care centers that they were in violation of local ordinances which prohibit discrimination in hiring on the basis of religion. The government lawyers cited the *Boerne* decision in court documents to justify their unprecedented interference in church activities.

• In California, death row inmates were told they could no longer take their Bibles to Bible study. And when the religious volunteers tried to bring in their Bibles, they were told that they could not bring them in either. So, we have inmates attending Bible studies, but without any Bibles!

• In Texas, two school children were disciplined for wearing rosaries. The school administrator claimed that they were gang symbols.

• In Michigan, the State House passed a "mini-RFRA" for the people of Michigan, but with a joker in the deck: the bill defines "persons" as all residents of the state who are not lawfully incarcerated. In other words, if this bill becomes law, prisoners will officially be "non-

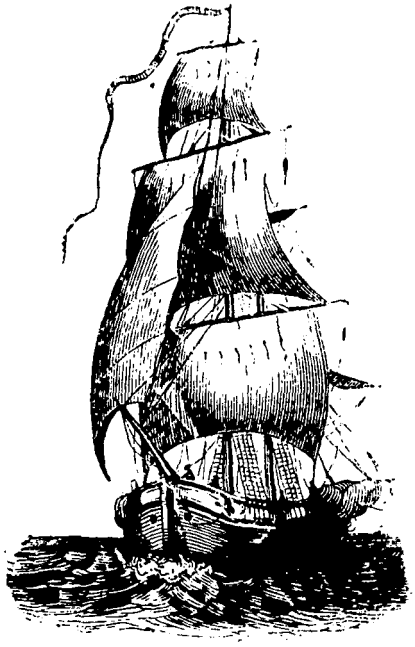
Pat Nolan is president of Justice Fellowship and former California Assembly Republican Leader.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

persons" without the religious rights of everyone else.

• In New Jersey, Governor Whitman has announced that she will introduce a state RFRA, but with a prisoner exclusion.

• In states with strong teachers unions we can expect efforts to exempt schools, and where medical associations are powerful there will be attempts to exclude nursing homes and hospitals.



THIS IS not what the founders of our Republic had in mind when they wrote the Bill of Rights. They placed such a high value on our religious rights that they wrote the First Amendment precisely to prohibit interference by the federal government in the free exercise of our religion, and the Fourteenth Amendment and later Court decisions have applied the same prohibitions to lower levels of government. Yet the Supreme Court in *Boerne* has now invented an exception to this amendment that *allows* the government to interfere — as long as the law applies to everyone.

Conservatives may be surprised to learn that the *Boerne* majority opinion, written by Justice Anthony Kennedy, was joined not only by Justices John Paul Stevens and Ruth Bader Ginsburg, but also by conservative Justices William H. Rehnquist, Clarence Thomas, and Antonin Scalia. The conservative judges' apparently believe Congress exceeded its authority with RFRA by expanding the Bill of Rights. But all RFRA did was restore religious freedom rights that have always been central to the First Amendment. The danger here is that unless Congress quickly reasserts statutory protection for religious practices, government officials will continue to interfere in church activities by carefully writing their ordinances to apply to all groups, not just religious ones.

And as states pass mini-RFRAs with exceptions for schools, hospitals, and prisoners, we will be left with a patchwork of protection for religious liberty. The American people will have religious freedom only to the extent that they have the political muscle to prevent powerful groups from excluding them from their state's RFRA.

A consensus is growing among Christian groups that no more important issue confronts the modern Church than the passage of national legislation to protect the religious rights of all Americans. Dr. James Dobson of "Focus on the Family" and Dr. Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council have agreed to join with Justice Fellowship and Prison Fellowship in a national effort to press Congress to pass a new Religious Freedom Restoration Act. Chuck Colson was recently Dr. Dobson's guest on a two-part "Focus on the Family" radio program devoted to this issue. Dr. Dobson opened the program by saying that in all his 20 years of broadcasting only the need for the church to spread the Gospel was of greater importance than RFRA.

AND appreciation of the issue's importance is not limited to religious groups. The *Washington Post* called *Boerne* the most important church/state case ever to come before the Court. You will hear much more about this issue in the coming months. As the state legislatures convene next year, Justice Fellowship task forces will work to prevent efforts to exclude unpopular or vulnerable groups from religious protection. The battle is over the meaning of the First Amendment's religious freedom protections and whether they apply generally to all Americans or restrictively to favored groups alone. *Boerne* signals the beginning of a new chapter, not the end, in this fight. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONSERVATIVES' UNFINISHED MISSION

THE TASK BEFORE US

BY WILLIAM A. RUSHER

Beyond socialism and the Cold War, the third component of American conservatism remains locked in combat with its foe — the Enlightenment's tendency to reject the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition.

Plus: What Ails California Republicans? McClintock proposes; Kurzweil responds.

William A. Rusher, publisher of National Review from 1957 until 1989, is a Distinguished Fellow of the Claremont Institute. This article is the concluding section of Mr. Rusher's keynote address delivered at Princeton University's Conference on American Conservatism, May 3, 1996.

AS SOMEONE deeply involved with the modern conservative movement for 40 years, I would like to say a few words about where I think that movement may be headed.

First, let me acknowledge that there is always an economic component in our national politics. Moreover, just in recent months it has grown increasingly clear that America, and indeed the world, is in the opening stages of a major economic process that will play itself out over a period of decades and affect the political landscape of every nation on earth. This is a result of the rapidly-increasing globalization of the world economy. Thanks to the advances of technology, the economies of the United States and certain other major nations are shifting to a new emphasis on high-tech industry, while simpler manufacturing jobs are moved offshore. The whole process deserves the name it has been given: the Third Industrial Revolution.

Without question, the process is going to be painful — just as the advent of the automobile was painful for the makers of buggy-whips. Equally without question, there will be Luddite efforts (on the left by the labor unions, and on the right by Pat Buchanan and others) to stop the process in its tracks: to flood the moat, pull up the drawbridge, and turn America into an autarchic state, permanently operated along the lines of the Second Industrial Revolution.

I CANNOT SPEAK for the left, of course, but I am confident that there will be very few conservative economists, and indeed few conservatives more generally, who will agree that such

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a policy would be practical. With the Cold War over and the world's nations broadly agreed on the desirability of free markets, the gradual global integration of the world economy is simply inevitable. We can and should seek to gentle the process, but we cannot possibly stop it. Of the Third Industrial Revolution, we can only say what Stephen Vincent Benét, at the close of "John Brown's Body," said of the Second:

Say neither,... "It is a deadly magic and accursed,"
Nor "It is blest,"
but only "It is here."

But for all the importance of the economic and political adjustments that the Third Industrial Revolution will require, I do not believe they will characterize and determine the future of American politics as decisively as developments in quite another sphere. Two of conservatism's central pillars — support for free-market economics and implacable opposition to the spread of Communism — have triumphed spectacularly.

FIFTY-FIVE YEARS ago, when I was an undergraduate here at Princeton, it was almost universally assumed, even by those of us who regretted it bitterly, that socialism was the wave of the economic future all over the world. Today, even the senescent Communist bosses of China have adopted market principles in a desperate effort to maintain their political grip on the country, and they hail the mongrel result as "market socialism," whatever that is.

Now of course, no political victory is ever complete, let alone immutable. And I concede that, in the case of free-market principles, they are sometimes, even in the United States, honored more in the breach than in the observance. Nor do I for a moment agree with Francis Fukuyama that their acceptance is so universal, let alone so permanent, as to mark, along with the triumph of democracy, for all practical purposes the end of history. But I do believe that the current worldwide prestige and application of the principles of free-market economics represent as real and solid a victory for conservatism as it is reasonable to hope for in human affairs.

Similarly, the Cold War is over at last, and the United States indisputably won it. Here too, then, and despite the left-over Communist regimes still to be found here and there around the world, conservatives have every reason to feel that they played a major part in a real and truly monumental victory.

But the third major component of modern American conservatism is still locked in combat with its foes. That is the component that takes issue with what Richard Pipes, in his history of the Bolshevik Revolution, calls "...the erroneous doctrine of the Enlightenment, perhaps the most pernicious idea in the history of thought, that man is merely a material compound, devoid of either soul or innate ideas, and as such a passive product of an infinitely malleable social environment."

This is, of course, just another way of describing the Enlightenment's tendency to reject the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition — either outright, or by relegating it to a comparatively minor role in human affairs. In the conservative view, that tradition is central to the strength and health of our civilization, and these can be recovered and ensured only by reincorporating this tradition into the ongoing culture of the West.

AT AMERICA'S inception, which was so closely bound up with many of the Enlightenment's healthier impulses, the importance of religion to social stability was recognized by virtually all of the Founders. The First Amendment barred Congress from establishing a national church, but also from interfering with the "free exercise" of religion. Moreover, we tend to forget that it left intact the churches that were then established in several of the states. It seems clear that the Founders were confident that the inherited moral capital of the Judaeo-Christian tradition would be transmitted from one generation to another by the churches and synagogues, by the schools (including the public schools), and — last but far from least — by the family.

But in the 20th century attacks on that tradition and on the institutions supporting it have grown ever bolder. The courts have decreed what amounts to a default atheism in the public square, and above all in the public schools. Many mainline churches no longer teach the old moral imperatives, and those that still do are under heavy attack. As for the family, lucky is the child who receives from it some intimation of the moral tradition on which this nation was founded; in all too many cases, saying that a schoolchild should seek religious or moral guidance from

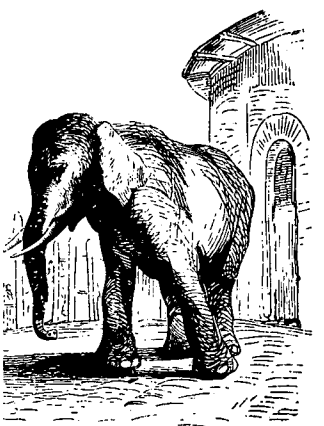
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his or her family is simply a sick joke.

In recent decades it has become painfully clear that, for many Americans, our traditional source of moral capital is simply no longer accessible, because there is no longer any authority structure — church, school, or family — available and capable of transmitting it.

This was bound to have major social and political consequences. I will not bore you with the evidence, other than to point out that the upsurge in drugs, illegitimate births, and "drive-by shootings" in America today proclaims the advent of a whole new class, now extending over more than a generation, with respect to which the necessary internalization of social discipline (or morality) in childhood was

WHAT AILS CALIFORNIA REPUBLICANS?



What accounts for Republicans' disparate faces? On issues, both certain and ambivalent; on strategy, now bold, next timid; on principle, here firm, there derelict.

Tom McClintock offers a diagnosis. John Kurzweil tenders a rejoinder.

For Republican Leaders, It's Still the Vision Thing

By Tom McClintock

LAST MONTH'S semi-annual California Republican Party convention in Anaheim offered a remarkably clear insight into the reason for the GOP's inability to function as a viable political alternative to the Democrats. In the uncelebrated words of George Bush, it is still "the vision thing."

No where was this more obvious than when several Assembly and Senate Republican leaders gathered for an informal discussion

(Please turn to next page)

Tom McClintock represents California's 38th Assembly district.

The Crisis Neither Begins Nor Ends with Leadership

By John Kurzweil

TOM MCCLINTOCK'S unselfish contributions to the cause of good government in California regularly bring clarity, truth, and direction to a Sacramento mainly characterized by confusion, foolishness, double-talk, and wandering without aim. But even more important than his supplying accurate information and clear thinking has been the example he provides of a man who knows (and acts accordingly) that

(Please turn to page 25)

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

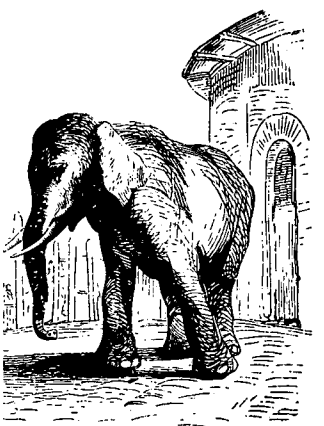
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his or her family is simply a sick joke.

In recent decades it has become painfully clear that, for many Americans, our traditional source of moral capital is simply no longer accessible, because there is no longer any authority structure — church, school, or family — available and capable of transmitting it.

This was bound to have major social and political consequences. I will not bore you with the evidence, other than to point out that the upsurge in drugs, illegitimate births, and "drive-by shootings" in America today proclaims the advent of a whole new class, now extending over more than a generation, with respect to which the necessary internalization of social discipline (or morality) in childhood was

WHAT AILS CALIFORNIA REPUBLICANS?



What accounts for Republicans' disparate faces? On issues, both certain and ambivalent; on strategy, now bold, next timid; on principle, here firm, there derelict.

Tom McClintock offers a diagnosis. John Kurzweil tenders a rejoinder.

For Republican Leaders, It's Still the Vision Thing

By Tom McClintock

LAST MONTH'S semi-annual California Republican Party convention in Anaheim offered a remarkably clear insight into the reason for the GOP's inability to function as a viable political alternative to the Democrats. In the uncelebrated words of George Bush, it is still "the vision thing."

No where was this more obvious than when several Assembly and Senate Republican leaders gathered for an informal discussion

(Please turn to next page)

Tom McClintock represents California's 38th Assembly district.

The Crisis Neither Begins Nor Ends with Leadership

By John Kurzweil

TOM MCCLINTOCK'S unselfish contributions to the cause of good government in California regularly bring clarity, truth, and direction to a Sacramento mainly characterized by confusion, foolishness, double-talk, and wandering without aim. But even more important than his supplying accurate information and clear thinking has been the example he provides of a man who knows (and acts accordingly) that

(Please turn to page 25)

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not even attempted.

I have always thought that socialism's defeat in its competition with the free market had next to nothing to do with the arguments of free-market advocates, however cogent, but grew straight out of the observed failure of socialism, and the relative success of free-market economics, wherever they were tried. Similarly, I doubt that the Enlightenment's disastrous attempt to shape mankind's future by secular reason alone would be coming under such heavy attack today if it had not been seen to fail so spectacularly to substitute anything for the moral teachings of the religious tradition it was so eager to overthrow.

At any rate, the issues raised by these musings are the ones which I believe American society is at last grimly preparing to confront and resolve, and I predict that you will find the conservative movement at the forefront of the confrontation.

The most explicit and eloquent call for the reincorporation of the Judaeo-Christian tradition in the culture of modern man was issued by Alexander Solzhenitsyn in his commencement address at Harvard in 1978:

> It would be retrogression [he said] to attach oneself today to the ossified formulas of the Enlightenment. Social dogmatism leaves us completely helpless before the trials of our time. Even if we are spared destruction by war, our lives will have to change if we want to save life from self-destruction. We cannot avoid revising the fundamental definitions of human life and human society. Is it true that man is above everything? Is there no Higher Spirit above him? Is it right that man's life and society's activities have to be determined by material expansion in the first place? Is it permissible to promote such expansion to the detriment of our spiritual integrity? If the world has not come to its end, it has approached a major turn in history, equal in importance to the turn from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. It will exact from us a spiritual upsurge, we shall have to rise to a new height of vision, to a new level of life where our physical nature will not be cursed as in the Middle Ages, but, even more importantly, our spiritual being will not be trampled upon as in the Modern Era. This ascension will be similar to climbing onto the next anthropological stage. No one on earth has any way left but — upward.

McClintock

(Continued from previous page)

with a group of Republican activists and donors. The subject of the meeting was the 1998 election, and how Republicans intended to win. The panel of potentates unanimously agreed that "1998 is shaping up as an issueless campaign." Victory would be achieved by "out-organizing and out-hustling" the Democrats.

This is California Republican leaders' dominant view today. Politics is a giant football game; victory belongs to the team that outhustles the other side. Ideology is as irrelevant to them as it is to the Oakland Raiders. Those who believe that politics should serve principle are routinely denigrated as "purists" and "ideologues."

The Republican Party's crisis of leadership played out more dramatically at the convention on the fundamental question of bilingual education. The same Party leaders who were stumped to define a key issue to take to the voters in 1998 were working overtime to kill a resolution endorsing the "English for the Children" initiative.

ENGLISH FOR the Children is an initiative that arose from the barrios of Los Angeles, where frustrated and angry Latino parents boycotted their local school. Their grievance? Our public schools are denying their children English language instruction. Under the mandates of "bilingual education," Latino children, who comprise more than one fifth of California's public school enrollment, are placed in racially segregated classrooms and taught in their native language. The parents want the same thing that every immigrant group before them has wanted — that their children grow up as Americans. They know that to succeed in America, their children must be able to speak English fluently and flawlessly. They are outraged the schools deliberately deny their children the tools to succeed. The Republican Party is the only hope these parents have. Bilingual programs are a cash cow for the teachers' unions, and the teachers' unions are a cash cow for the Democrat Party. (Bilingual teachers receive as much as $5,000 more per year in salary; more than a third of a billion dollars of state funds are spent on this program annually.)

What a tremendous opportunity for Republicans to take a principled stand to rescue this generation of children from the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In those ringing words Solzhenitsyn stated, I believe, as well as it has yet been stated, the intellectual agenda of the next fifty years. It will be a battle, of course — if I may borrow a famous Communist expression, *la lutte finale,* modern conservatism's "final conflict" — and the foe will be the remaining defenders of the Enlightenment's commitment to secular humanism.

THE OPENING skirmishes of that battle are already taking place in the United States, under the rubric of "the cultural war." As it progresses, I fully expect the conservative movement to lose some of its present followers, though in the long run we will, I believe, gain many more than we lose.

It will, in any case, be a tooth-rattling affair. Professor Alan Brinkley remarked in the *American Historical Review* for April 1994 that "Secular intellectuals," including "most historians," must "concede that that they have been wrong in some of their most basic assumptions about America in our time." They must, he said, "recognize that the progressive modernism that most scholars, and many others, have so complacently assumed has become firmly and unassailably established in America — the secularism, the relativism, the celebration of scientific progress — may not in fact be as firmly entrenched as they thought."

Quite so.

Actuarial statistics make it clear that I won't be around to participate in this final battle of the conservative movement, let alone to witness its outcome. And that's too bad, because I think conservatism is going to win this one, too — the most important battle of them all. In ways now hidden from us, but congenial to the mind and spirit of 21st-century man, we will find our way to the upward path again. For, as the 19th-century British poet Coventry Patmore wrote, in a quatrain with which I like to end my talks:

For want of me the world's course will not fail:
When all its work is done, the lie shall rot;
The truth is great, and shall prevail,
When none cares whether it prevail or not. CPR

---

grips of the public school bureaucracy and return a fundamental decision for their future success to their parents.

And yet, the Republican leadership was fervently opposed. The Assembly Republican Leader attacked the resolution in the press, as did other Republican legislators. Party officials tried to derail the resolution through a hand-picked committee of seven members appointed for the sole purpose of killing the measure. It was the Republican rank-and-file who overwhelmingly overruled the Party's pusillanimous leaders and took a principled stand to support the initiative.

The convention battle — and the awkward groping for an issue at the meeting with activists — shows the problem facing Republicans, not just in California but across the nation. The rank-and-file members of the Republican Party join it because they believe in principles of greater liberty and less government. In the case of bilingual education, they want parents — not the school bureaucracy — to decide how their children will be educated.

The current Republican leadership approaches these issues not as a matter of principle, but as a matter of gamesmanship. They feared that after the disastrous way Party leaders comported themselves over Propositions 187 (denying benefits to illegal immigrants) and 209 (ending racial preferences in state law), Party endorsement of the "English for the Children" initiative would be a "third strike" with Latino voters.

Latino voters answered that question emphatically two weeks later. On October 15, the *Los Angeles Times* Poll was released. "Opponents of bilingual education enjoy overwhelming support in a brewing ballot fight that has sparked early skirmishing in the 1998 campaign, with strong backing among California voters of all races, ethnicities and political persuasions," said the *Times.* "Latino voters surveyed favored the initiative by a slightly higher margin — 84 percemt to 16 percent — than whites, at 80 percent to 18 percent." Republican leaders simply don't understand that good policy makes good politics. They can't take principled stands because they lack the courage of conviction.

PROPOSITIONS 187 and 209 represented two of the loftiest of all principles in human civilization. At the core of Proposition 187 was what the ancient Greeks viewed as the highest of human

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

virtues: "civitas," from which we get the word, "citizenship." The foundation of Proposition 209 was the essence of the Declaration of Independence: equal justice under the law. The Republican leadership turned both of these campaigns into crass, racist, "political wedge" issues because they never grasped the principles involved. They couldn't appeal to the "better angels of our nature," as Lincoln once put it, because they couldn't see those angels.

Just two weeks before, a majority of the Republican leadership in the Assembly and Senate capitulated on the "California Children's Health Plan," a Hillary Clinton-style menu of state-approved and state-paid health plans covering the children of nearly half the households in the state. The reasons stated in the caucus meeting have been repeated over and over as the Party's leaders abandon high principle for gutter politics in the state Legislature. "We will lose our marginal seats," and "The press will have a field day," are the two recycled excuses we hear again and again. "We'll look like we don't care about...(fill in the cause *du jour).*"

WHAT DO these "leaders" mean when they say Republicans will lose their elections if they stand on bedrock Republican principles? They mean that deep down inside, they believe those principles are immensely unpopular with voters, and to stray too close to them risks political annihilation.

What do these leaders mean when they say, "The press will have a field day?" They mean that deep down inside, they believe Republican principles are indefensible in a public debate, and that they don't dare provoke one.

The national debate on universal health care offers a lesson. In 1993, Republican leaders conceded that "Hillary-Care" was a foregone conclusion. Phil Gramm stood alone and said that his constituents didn't want the federal government choosing their health plans. The debate Gramm provoked stopped the administration cold and turned the Democrat congressional majority out of office for the first time in 50 years.

What do these leaders mean when they say, "The press will have a field day?" They mean that deep down inside, they believe Republican principles are indefensible in a public debate.

Ultimately, good policy makes good politics, because policy determines politics. But it takes leaders with the courage to take principled stands when they are controversial, secure in the knowledge that when the debate is over, a majority will be won over. This is, after all, how minorities become majorities.

The Republican Party had that kind of leadership during the Reagan years, before its affairs were taken over by the "kinder and gentler" crowd. What happened in California should give Republicans pause. In the 1980s, 63 percent of newly registered voters in California became Republicans; only 30 percent became Democrats. In the 1990s, only 11 percent of new voters have chosen the Republican Party, a plunge that began with Bush's broken promise on taxes.

These new voters are not flocking to the Democrats; indeed, new Democrat registration has dropped to 26 percent. The huge bulge is in "decline-to-state" and third party registrations. In the 1980s, just 7 percent of new voters registered "decline-to-state" or with third parties. In the 1990s, 62 percent want nothing to do with either of the major parties. The Democrats are not gaining new adherents to the cause of big government; Republicans have lost those who believed in less government. There's a reason: Republican leaders today either don't believe in those principles or lack the courage to stand by them.

Having spent many years watching the decline and fall of Republican leadership in the state Assembly, I believe three forces are at work. The first is the timidity that breeds in political caucuses when courage of conviction is absent. Winston Churchill detested councils of war for the same reason. He believed that a council of war composed of the most heroic generals in the army would at the end of the day produce the sum total of all their fears. Assembly Republican caucus meetings are a vivid example of this, as the litany of election woes is recited each time a defining moment approaches.

A second factor is the political equivalent of the Stockholm syndrome, in which hostages who fear their captors gradually acquire their captors' viewpoint. This, too, I have watched in our Republican caucus meetings, as Re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

publican leaders fret about what retaliation the Democrats will mete out against pet district bills, office perquisites, or campaigns.

But perhaps the most corroding influence is the seduction of power and what it does to warp integrity. "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely," warned Lord Acton. After "English for the Children" author Ron Unz was excoriated by caucus members when he came to plead for support for his initiative, several members complained that he had not been sufficiently deferential to such an august assemblage. "He shouldn't have interrupted me," sniffed one. "After all, *I'm* the Assemblyman." The caucus narrowly avoided voting formally to oppose the initiative.

OURS IS a two-party system, but it is no longer Republicans and Democrats — perhaps it never was. The two parties in this country can be found in every other nation on this planet and in every epoch of recorded history. They were present at Runnymede and Philadelphia, they hover over every coffee shop political discussion at this moment. They are the party of liberty and the party of government.

Many of the Republican Party's current leaders do not belong to the party of liberty. And many rank-and-file Democrats and most rank-and-file independents do not belong to the party of government.

The Republican Party can be the party of liberty, but only if it has leaders whose courage comes from conviction, and not from the latest editorial or blip in the California poll.

Lincoln's famous "House Divided" speech actually was delivered at the Republican State Convention in Springfield in 1858. His words are as much needed today as they were then:

"Two years ago," he said, "The Republicans of this nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then to falter now — now — when that same enemy is wavering and dissevered and belligerent? The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail — if we stand firm, we shall not fail. Wise counsels may accelerate, or mistakes, delay it, but sooner or later the victory is sure to come."

It will be later, if the mistakes of the current generation of Republican leaders continue. CPR

Kurzweil

(Continued from page 21)

the good of the people he represents matters more than his personal interests: that, indeed, it makes no sense to be in government *except* to serve the public good and that the place for self-service, if it belongs anywhere, is in private life. In a cynical, weary political community usually unsure whether it is wise or even possible to be anything other than selfish in office, McClintock's example is like water in the desert. And so it is with great hesitation that I disagree publicly with him, especially because he has so often generously allowed *California Political Review* to serve as the platform for his writing. It is not with ingratitude that I do so now, but with respect for his love of an honest debate and the hope that our thoughts clashing somewhat will bring more light than otherwise.

First of all, I should say that I agree wholeheartedly with much of what I take from McClintock's piece nearby: one, that a severe shortage of good leaders has been the bane of the Republican Party, in California even more than nationally; two, that over-emphasis on campaign technology at the expense of raising issues, fighting on them, and engaging the grass roots has been and will continue to be disastrous for Republicans; and, three, that most of California's current GOP political leaders seem almost cursed with a more or less fool-proof knack for taking the wrong side of an issue, whether it is bilingual education or welfare reform or Hillary-Care, and of mangling the message and squandering the opportunity even when they (usually belatedly) *do* manage to get it right, as Dole's painful CCRI performance amply demonstrated — indeed, I have said all these things myself many times. Further, I agree that more than timidity or poor political judgment is sometimes involved: that venality, hypocrisy, laziness, self-absorption, and personal ambition seem often to have obliterated the concern for the public good that is, as I said, a public official's sole valid concern.

But McClintock's article goes further, naming what he sees as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the primary cause of these maladies: It is, he writes, that "ideology is ... irrelevant" to the state's GOP leaders who "routinely" denigrate "those who believe that politics should serve principle ... as 'purists' and 'ideologues'." Later, he explicitly charges that "deep down inside, they [the leaders] believe [Republican] principles are immensely unpopular with voters" and "indefensible in a public debate," that among them "courage of conviction is absent," that they suffer from "the political equivalent of the Stockholm syndrome, in which hostages who fear their captors gradually acquire their captors' viewpoint," and that they have been corrupted by power in the way Lord Acton warned would happen. Finally, the article contrasts these leaders with leaders possessing "the courage to take principled stands when they are controversial, secure in the knowledge that when the debate is over, a majority will be won over." It asserts that "The Republican Party had that kind of leadership during the Reagan years, before its affairs were taken over by the 'kinder and gentler' crowd" and, lastly, defines the contending forces involved in all political struggle as "the party of liberty and the party of government," implying that Republican success depends upon it filling the role of party of liberty forthrightly and with courage.

MY PROBLEM with the article, beyond the points with which I agree, is that it provides an inadequate explanation for an evil far too pervasive and destructive to be loaded up on the frail shoulders of a few imperfect men, and that in trying to tie all the cans to the tail of the one thing " GOP leadership," it sloppily and unjustly implies moral backwardness and cowardice on the part of honorable individuals whose only real "failing," if it can even be called that, may be that they disagree with Tom McClintock about political strategy. GOP

Are "ideology" and "principle" "irrelevant" to Bruce Thompson or Ray Haynes? Is Tom Bordonaro an example of moral cowardice? Does Pete Wilson lack courage?

"leadership," after all, even considering only California and the few at the top, includes a wide variety of people: Bill Leonard, Tom Bordonaro, Roy Ashburn, Bruce Thompson, Lynne Leach, Fred Aguiar, and Curt Pringle; Rob Hurtt, Jim Brulte, Ray Haynes, and Ross Johnson; Dan Lungren, Pete Wilson — just to start, not bothering with many other forceful members (such as Tom McClintock), staffers, administration figures, judges, Party leaders, activists, and donors. Are "ideology" and "principle" "irrelevant" to Bruce Thompson or to Ray Haynes? Is Tom Bordonaro an example of moral cowardice? Is Jim Brulte suffering from "political Stockholm syndrome"? Does Pete Wilson lack courage? The blanket characterization that seems to fit the Party's overall direction also seems to break down when applied to individuals.

McClintock's indictment of the leadership becomes increasingly confused the more closely it is studied. The first of his "three forces at work" in "the decline and fall of Republican leadership in the state Assembly" is timidity bred in political caucuses "when courage of conviction is absent." This seems more a specific instance portraying lack of principle — just one more example — than a description of an explanatory "force" *accounting for* the lack of conviction that is supposed to be behind the "decline and fall." But then we are told that Churchill detested councils of war where even "the most heroic generals" would be reduced to cowering over "the sum total of all their fears." So is it caucus meetings *per se* that are at fault? Are they to be dispensed with? Will *that* restore lost GOP principle — no more meetings? That hardly seems likely to be the point here, but otherwise we must dispense with this first "force at work" because it is not a force, or cause, at all, but another result, and the Churchill comparison becomes no more than a dramatic irrelevancy and distraction.

We are told that "during the Reagan years" Republican leaders took "principled stands" knowing they would thereby win the day. Is that so? Then why was Gerald Ford invited to be vice president in 1980? Followed by George "read my lips — voodoo economics" Bush? I worked at the Washington-based Heritage Foundation in 1982, when Reagan was at the height of his popularity, and saw the Democrats, the media, and such "principled" characters as Jim Baker badger the president into a direct assault on his own and his Party's guiding principles — the so-called Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act (TEFRA) — later described as a "ter-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rible tax increase" by Lyn Nofziger (who nonetheless engineered, *at Reagan's personal request,* 103 "aye" votes by Congressional *Republicans* for this monstrosity where only 12 had supported it at first — he didn't do it by reading them Lincoln's "House Divided" speech). Ed Meese called TEFRA "a complete departure from our tax-cutting mandate." Was Reagan "unprincipled"? No, he just thought he could make an advantageous deal with the Democrats and was outmaneuvered. He was wrong, just as the Sacramento Republicans are often similarly wrong, but that no more proves anyone in Sacramento "unprincipled" than TEFRA does Reagan. (And, by the way, resisting tax increases would have taken far less courage at the time than standing tall on the other principles McClintock cites, such as race preferences. The White House line on affirmative action, which I heard myself often from both high and low level Reagan staffers in the course of my work at Heritage, echoed *verbatim* the "gutter politics" concerns of McClintock's caucus meetings: "we'll lose our marginal seats" and "the press will have a field day," with, of course, the inevitable "they'll call us racist" thrown in.)

McClintock's diagnosis leads to confusions and contradictions, I believe, for two essential reasons: First, it is too narrowly drawn — many more people are involved and at fault, indeed, these Republican travails are but another manifestation of maladies afflicting all of Western Civilization, what once was known as "Christendom." Second, and more fundamental: McClintock, I believe, is right that what's lacking is firm allegiance to essential principles, but he selects the wrong principles. The principles of political liberty are too far up the ladder. Humanity does not begin by choosing between liberty and government; those who choose one or the other have already travelled far along pathways that diverged long before. The real dividing line, as identified by the animating faith of the West, is between God and man, between God's commandment that we love Him and one another and our unnatural desire to love only ourselves. As Alexander Solzhenitsyn wrote of his time in the Gulag, "Gradually it became clear to me that the line separating good and evil runs not through states, nor between classes, nor even between political parties, but right through the center of each human heart. And every human heart." The explanation for our own and others' lack of principle and failure of courage — putting it another way, of the broad spiritual desiccation of the West — lies in our having largely transferred our faith from God to ourselves. Without love of God at the root, allegiance to this or that principle relies on accidentals, and may be expected to come and go unpredictably, like other chance vicissitudes of life.

Regarding my first reason, that McClintock's diagnosis is too narrowly drawn: In his 1970 article "The Decade of the Great Liberal Death Wish," Malcolm Muggeridge described liberalism's strange devotion to dismantling systematically, stage by stage, "our Western way of life, depreciating and deprecating all its values so that the whole social structure is now tumbling down, dethroning its God, undermining all its certainties ...." To many citizens, he wrote, "it all smells unmistakably of conspiracy. How otherwise to account for the fact that the liberal mind, like deathwatch beetles, seems to be active in all the rafters and foundations of the State? So, they imagine suborned men, and hurl wild accusations. Ah, if only it were a conspiracy! How easy, then, to apprehend the principals and subdue their dupes!"

AND HOW easy it would be to set things right if our problem was exclusively, or even primarily, a simple matter of poor leadership. But, alas, whenever we throw out or outlast one group of rascals, the new group seems only to repeat their dishonorable performance, until even our own troops, having taken the town, seem immediately to succumb. As Stan Evans said of many idealistic, young Reaganites who invaded the nation's capital in 1981, "They came thinking the place a cesspool, but soon it seemed more like a hot tub."

Our leaders' failures reflect those of our whole people. It may be that "the rank-and-file members of the Republican Party join it because they believe in principles of greater liberty and less government," but then why do California Republicans oppose school vouchers so strongly? Why are they so prone to the Not In My Backyard syndrome — once they have theirs, suddenly regulating the next guy who wants to exercise his liberty in some way they find irritating seems like a good idea.

Take a larger issue: consider the tumultuous snoring with which most Republicans respond to the scandal that our legal system has become. McClintock cites Runnymede as one of history's battlegrounds between liberty and government, and that it was. The bedrock issue there between King John and the nobles was rule of law. Magna Charta, in and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amongst such provisions as that "one measure of wine shall be used throughout our kingdom, and one measure of ale, and one measure of corn, to wit, the London quart" here and there includes genuine affirmations of basic rights, such as: "no freeman shall be taken, nor imprisoned ... but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the laws of the land." The important principle of the Great Charter, coming a century and a half after the Norman conquest with all the vast mayhem, robbery, and chaos it produced, was that all men, even kings, were to keep agreements made legally, that, in effect, no man was above the law. Those nobles who took advantage of a momentary weakness in King John's political power to force him the sign the charter knew that they risked their lives doing so, and many later saw their fortunes wiped out and themselves ruined, as the vengeful king, when he recovered his strength, swept the island with fire and sword in search of his enemies from Runnymede.

THE QUESTION is, where are such men today? Where is the statewide rising against a legal system in which the law is about the only thing of no importance to anyone? Ron George is treated to glowing *Los Angeles Times* puff pieces celebrating his grand humanity directly as a result of his having given formal notice, in several recent decisions, that he cares nothing for the law. Lyn Nofziger, in his autobiography, described the lessons he learned from his own confrontation with American law: "Prosecutors want to put someone in jail regardless of the truth. Defense lawyers want to keep their clients out of jail — if they can pay their bills — regardless of the truth. Judges, who above all ought to be interested in the truth, are most of the time more interested in legal technicalities than in seeing justice carried out." Soren Keirkegaard wrote that "A passionate, tumultuous age will overthrow everything, pull everything down; but a revolutionary age that is at the same time reflective and passionless leaves everything standing but cunningly empties it of significance." A better description would be hard to find of rule of law in America than: Left standing, devoid of significance.

But if rank-and-file Republicans believe passionately in the principles of liberty and law for which men risked their lives at Runnymede, they do little to show it. Seven hundred and eighty-two years after Magna Charta, it would be difficult to find more than a handful of Californians prepared to risk anything substantial, much less their property and lives, to restoring the law. We make an inroad here or slow a malignant tendency there, above all we toss Rose Bird out on her ear, but, somehow, the general direction proceeds inexorably onward. How many devoted California Republicans know — or even care — that the "conservative" Lucas Court actually overturned almost none of the Bird era's most egregiously unjust and unconstitutional precedents? (Look up *Isbister v. Boys' Club* (1985), or *Committee to Defend Reproductive Rights v. Myers* (1981), for instance; you'll find them alive, well, and still subverting the system. But mention either landmark usurpation to most rank and file Republicans and they'll have difficulty stifling a yawn.) Even capital cases still take forever to conclude and few murderers need worry about ever facing execution.

The same massive lethargy characterizes rank-and-file Republican activity (though not talk), at least in California, about most other issues of principle. For instance, faced with a furious, culture-wide assault on the family, on religion, and on every private institution — the Boy Scouts, for instance — that in any way stands for the bedrock principles of the West, no serious rank and file pro-family movement has emerged, working to gain control of major newspapers, television networks, and film studios. No beachheads exist within the University of California, other elite institutions of higher education, or in the schools where the ideas and faith of the West's Judeo-Christian roots would dominate — yet that is what we *would* see if lack of conviction and failure of will were restricted to our leaders.

I am not forgetting that we have our islands out there: conservative think tanks and radio shows, conservative religious colleges and schools, and a few enormously dedicated and highly unusual people like Ron Unz, Custred and Wood, Howard Ahmanson, *and* Tom McClintock, to name but a few, who do much. But these are characterized mainly by how absolutely they contradict the settled ways everywhere in power.

Former Governor George Deukmejian's public affairs head once told me they knew that whenever they attempted a conservative initiative, such as eliminating Cal-OSHA, they would immediately be hammered on every television station and front page in the state, as well as every editorial page, except in the *Sacramento Union, Orange County Register,* and, occasionally, the *San Diego Union.* Meanwhile, from the conservative side — dead si-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lence. Things have changed little, except for the growth of conservative talk radio, and the counter-balancing loss of the *Sac Union* and a *Register* editorial page that seems headed left. I conclude that conservative leaders banking on a vast surge of popular support *based on principle* (not just ad hoc self-interest that happens to favor the conservative side now and then, like Wilson's support of CCRI) would be well-advised to prepare plenty of Plans "B" in case the surge fails to appear.

Then, to my second point: that the explanation for our own and others' lack of principle and failure of courage lies in our having largely transferred our faith from God to ourselves and that, without love of God at the root, allegiance to this or that principle relies on accidentals, and may be expected to come and go unpredictably, like other chance vicissitudes of life. In support, I cite some conservative authorities, adding them to Alexander Solzhenitsyn quoted earlier:

> Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports.
>
> — *George Washington*

> "Not until I went into the Churches of America and heard her pulpits aflame with righteousness did I understand the greatness and the genius of America. America is good. And if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."
>
> — *Alexis de Tocqueville*

> "Other ages have had great visions. They have always been different versions of the same vision: the vision of God and man's relationship to God. The Communist vision is the vision of Man without God .... of man's mind displacing God as the creative intelligence of the world.
>
> — *Whittaker Chambers*

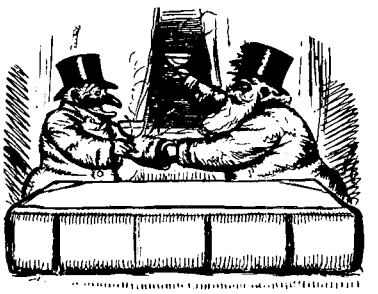
Somewhere Solzhenitsyn wrote that throughout Russia, whenever people try to understand why so many horrors have befallen them, the same answer always seems to emerge: we forgot about God. On the practical level, moderns have bought into a great destructive myth: that religion means slavery and atheism means freedom. The notion is as true as saying that science means slavery (to truth) and, thus, ignorance means freedom. Again, as a practical matter, the reverse is the truth: men whose faith is in God establish freedom both because they believe they can with safety (God will protect them) and they believe they must, having been commanded to do so. On the other hand, as Whittaker Chambers learned, faith in man and in heaven on earth leads inexorably to tyranny.

Without love of God at the root, allegiance to this or that principle relies on accidentals, and may be expected to come and go unpredictably, like other chance vicissitudes of life.

Beyond mere practical considerations, addressing McClintock's issue of principle: to forget about God is to abandon our civilization's *first* principle. Indeed, it is the one thing our Judeo-Christian heritage most emphatically tells us *not* to do. Almost every calamity befalling the Old Testament Jews and every disaster the New Testament predicts for foolish men unmistakably blames forgetting about God. But this is just what we have done. Far too much of our faith and hope is wrapped up in this world and in our own capacities to move matters this way or that. McClintock describes good leaders as those possessing "the courage to take principled stands when they are controversial, secure in the knowledge that when the debate is over, a majority will be won over." Unfortunately, often the majority is *not* won over. Were it otherwise, Christ would not have died on a cross and our history would not be rich with martyrs for the faith. The true spirit of the West tells us to take principled stands, secure in the *faith* that God is with us as long as we are with Him, regardless of where the majority has gotten off to. Our troubles derive not from lack of faith in liberty, but from thinking our destiny and justification are here in time and measured by earthly power when, in truth, both lie in union with God, beyond this world, in eternity — *that* is the only conviction able to sustain the vast act of faith that is a free society.

OUR CIVILIZATION was built, paradoxically, by men who believed that our lives' single purpose is to save our souls. Only the same proposition can rebuild it. Let the left set out to save the world; they will lose it. Let *us* set out to save, each of us, individually, just one soul. Thus, by leaving it to God, we *will* save the world. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CRITICUS

Fatherland, Fatherland, Show Us a Sign

BY G.B. TENNYSON

REMEMBERING THE poignant cry of the youth in *Cabaret,* your faithful Criticus ventured to *das deutsche Vaterland* to see what signs it might be willing to vouchsafe us this half-century and more after the late unpleasantness and seven years after Reunification. The signals, one must say, were mixed, but none pointed to the sinister future foreseen in *Cabaret.*

What first strikes the eye of the Californian visitor to Europe, as every scribbler in the travel sections feels compelled to note, is that everybody smokes. It's true, but the travel writers don't give half the flavor of it. Men, women, and (in American eyes) children; the halt, the lame, the widowed, the infirm, the aged; the doctor, the lawyer, the Native European chief. They do it in cafés, in restaurants, on sidewalks, on underground platforms (signs prohibit this, but they are ignored). Of a sudden, walking down a lane, along the river bank, in a stairwell, the delicious fragrance of cigarette smoke will come wafting along, and one will start from the surprise and delight of it, remembering when ads used to feature lissome lasses saying "Blow some my way" and "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet." All those lasses in America have since grown up to produce censorious airline hostesses suffering from the newly invented affliction, smoke allergy. No doubt that other new invention, recovered memory, will tell them that they always hated it but were molested by R.J. Reynolds and suppressed it all.

Criticus thinks he may have spotted the very finest example of the universal addiction when he observed with wonder and admiration a woman riding a bicycle with a basket in front in which sat a child (no seatbelt, thank you; in fact, no seat, properly speaking), said child holding a bouquet of flowers, the woman steering the bicycle with one hand, while the other held aloft the cigarette she was smoking — and all of this taking place along the broad pathway of a very graceful and solemn cemetery in Cologne as the pair made their way to decorate a grave. Just think what the California anti-tobacco commercials could have done with this! (By the way, that sad man in the anti-smoking ads who wouldn't quit smoking despite his wife's pleas and whose wife, alas, died — that man, and the commercial makers, neglected to tell us that his wife did not die from smoking, first or second hand. But what is truth? asked you know who.)

WELL, IT'S all quite liberating. Yes, Criticus is going to be unfashionable again, but not in order to shill for the tobacco companies or to encourage anyone to smoke. Merely to note how exhilarating it was to walk

G.B. Tennyson, longtime member of the English department at UCLA, likes to style himself California Political Review's *1997 European Correspondent.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

down memory lane like this and to find oneself suddenly Pro Choice. It's a woman's own body, I say, and if she can rip a child untimely from her womb, she should bloody well be able to smoke a cigarette. The horror, the horror, one hears visiting American smoke fascists say, as they see the fumes rising from every sidewalk café. They do not ask how it is possible that there are more sidewalk cafés by probably a factor of 10 in a city like Cologne (population one million) than in Los Angeles (population more or less that of Mexico). Perhaps because there's more danger of getting lung cancer from car exhausts in a Los Angeles sidewalk café than from second-hand smoke on the pedestrian malls of central Cologne.

American health fascists should also be aware that there are few countries more ecologically dedicated than Germany. Three-sectioned trash containers are everywhere, each labelled as to type of refuse and each dutifully used by the natives. The once smoke-belching Ruhr is now a greenbelt. There are interminable television programs on ecology that ought to satisfy even the German passion for lectures. These make our so-called public service channels (those are the ones dominated by minority activists) seem like a night in Las Vegas. But American improvers are unlikely to let that count against the evils of pervasive smoking.

One circumstance that Criticus took as a promising sign was that there seemed to be fewer Americans on his recent visit to Germany than in the past. Of course it was late September/early October when the crush is generally over anyway. There were some yawping clusters ("Mabel, come look at this and tell me what it says." Answer: *Sankt Hvbertvs, i.e.,* St. Hubert, beneath a statue of same) in Cologne Cathedral, which seems to be in a chronic state of *Umbau,* which is the German equivalent of the chronic state of all Italian public monuments, namely, *in restauro.* The catafalque-like structure supporting a jewel-encrusted casket with the relics of the Three Kings, brought there by no less than Friedrich Barbarossa (a cold coming they must have had of it, if one may adapt Mr. Eliot's line, to get all the way from Persia to the Rhine) is only partially visible in the centre of the nave because of all the scaffolding around it. The crowds of all nationalities, Europeans well outnumbering Mabels, seem nevertheless to have adopted American style, being rather noisy and ill-behaved, and only the surprising, almost angelic, sound from a side chapel of a choir in rehearsal brought them momentarily to a sense of reverence in this proud survivor of ruthless wartime devastation. It reminded one as well that no culture has a more magnificent tradition of choral singing than the German. Also, the olden sound of church bells all over Cologne, the City of Churches, was like remembered laughter.

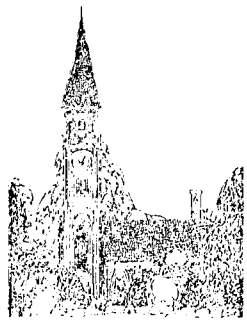
There are few countries more ecologically dedicated than Germany. There are interminable television programs on ecology that ought to satisfy even the German passion for lectures.

But every silver lining has a cloud, and the one hovering over modern Germany darker and more malign than any second-hand smoke, is second-hand English. The apparent Anglification of the German language is to the Critical eye almost as alarming as the sight of clusters of Turks and their deployment of little children to accost one in public places by holding up crudely-written cards in crudely-phrased German to the effect that they and their families are starving and need your largesse. They will accept cigarettes, too. Soon perhaps they will write their notes in English, which would give one the enchanting pleasure of saying in German, "I don't speak English" which is what Mabel & Co. say to the urchins in English about their lack of German. The impassive child simply moves on to the next café table, and if you sit long enough will return with the same card. Evidently we all look alike to them too.

BUT THE situation is not so grave as at first it seems. When Criticus patronized a prominent Cologne *Parfümerie* (the Germans have always used this French word with Germanized spelling, even if Cologne did invent cologne), he noted that the shop went by the un-German name of "Douglas." Worse, its motto on all its smartly-designed bags was "Come in and Find out." A record shop called itself "Music & More." As for commercial products, the German designer Joop! is proffering a new scent called, rather belatedly it seems, "All about Eve," followed by a men's scent called "What about Adam," and yet another called "Night Flight." These are German products. There are goods of various sorts called

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Kids," "Yellowstone," "Bad Boys," "Always," "Live aus Dortmund." (This last may have been an ad for a performance, "Live" being now commonly used on German television, as here, to give a spurious sense of immediacy.) There is a ubiquitous poster in underground stations, which would set smoke fascists and feminists alike to rabid frothing, showing a sluttish-looking, seemingly pre-pubescent southeast Asian girl with a smoking cigarette dangling from her lips and the wording "The Power of Now," this last being the name of the cigarette brand. "Jeopardy" is called "Jeopardy" on German television, but the questions are in German, which is a relief, and the "Daily Double" question is half-reassuringly called "Solo Frage." It's hard to know whether to call it reassuring or absurd to see an American black family sitcom dubbed into German. I also caught an Australian soap opera subtitled in Dutch, which made it almost easier to understand than listening to the original Aussie, and a kind of European CNN (not to be confused with CNN International which is in English) called "Euro News," which evidently feeds many countries with the same news video but lets each broadcast in its local language. But these latter are just the effect of cable and close borders.



No culture has a more magnificent tradition of choral singing than the German. Also, the olden sound of church bells all over Cologne, the City of Churches, was like remembered laughter.

WE NEED hardly say that all of these signs of linguistic miscegenation sent Criticus into a rage, and he would have written a "Disgusted in Tunbridge Wells" letter to the *Telegraph* except that he was in the wrong country. There should be a linguistic purity party in the next election, he thought, or the establishment of a German equivalent to the Académie Française to inveigh against these foreign incursions. But with a little time and patience he began to see behind the façade. Yes, English is still making its worldwide invasion, and more often in its American than its British form, but most of it is skin deep. It is equivalent to, though far more pervasive than, the use of French in English for certain effects associated with glamour, chiefly in perfumes and cookery. Even Criticus doesn't want a scent like *L'heure bleue* translated into English. The English language invasion is largely concerned with commercial items and advertising, though I understand in some technical areas like computers it is also extensive. (Criticus actually used a German computer, which many will think simple enough, but remember that the menu and the instructions come in German.) So, when Mabel ventures away from cathedrals and train stations, she is very likely to face German almost as rigorous as it used to be, which means that she will never encounter three or four discrete words where one single infinitely long compound will do, and she had better hold her past participle in the back of her mind until the end of the sentence, if we can assume she knows what a past participle is.

I say the German language is "almost" as rigorous only because there is a native-bred move afoot to simplify German *Rechtschreibung, i.e.,* spelling. Happily it has met with resistance, and Criticus, who saved the circumflex from destruction at the hands of Gallic language radicals only a few years back is prepared to do the same for such things as the German "Eszett" (Constant Readers may know it as the symbol "ß" popping up in words like *Straße).* Only the Teutonic mind could devise a new system whereby this symbol is to be used only after a long vowel (as "long" is defined in the German language) that is not separated from a voiceless "S" sound by a consonant. Thus, as before, *Straße* but now *Schloss,* the vowel in the former being long and in the latter short. In traditional orthography both words would have enjoyed the decorative "ß." Imagine, dear Constants, if your eyes have not glazed over at this point, having to pause in one's writing to determine whether a vowel is long or short or is followed by a consonant before being able to determine whether to use "ss" or "ß." Imagine further the great American educational cesspool that has not yet succeeded in teaching students to spell minimal English correctly before reaching college trying to institute a spelling reform based on long and short vowel sounds and voiced and unvoiced consonants! It would be more fun than Ebonics, the opposite of which, by the way, Criticus has pronounced to be Albionics. But on balance, Criticus is opposed to it, and herewith pronounces it anathema. If they won't bring back black letter printing and traditional German handwriting script, then they mustn't

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

take away, even in part, any traditional spelling.

Criticus delivered himself of these sentiments in the largest bookshop in central Cologne as he reluctantly bought a copy of *So schreibt man das jetzt!* (roughly "How It's Written Now") a handbook of the new orthography just to see what the enemy was up to. The shop must be in league with the subversives, as they refused to take my credit card and demanded ready money. I paid grumpily but was somewhat mollified by noting an entire section of the shop devoted to books on the Lost Territories,* as for example *Schlesien: Unvergessene Heimat* (Silesia; Unforgotten Homeland). A sign? Some will doubtless hope.

English is still making its worldwide invasion, but it is skin deep, equivalent to the use of French in English for certain effects associated with glamour, chiefly in perfumes and cookery.

UNDAUNTED, I moved round the corner into the Schildergasse, the most fashionable shopping street in Cologne to make my way to the Antoniterkirche, for, of all things, an ecumenical service to combat European racism. I had been inveigled into this by my friend who is the Anglican chaplain for Cologne and Bonn, an archdeaconry of the Diocese of Gibraltar. (Only the Church of England could come up with a Diocese of Gibraltar that covers all of Europe, though I believe they lately updated it to the Diocese of Europe and Gibraltar, but we can stick to the old ways. The Bishop of said Diocese resides, of course, not in Gibraltar, but in Kent, somewhere near Crawley, I believe it is, though he's mostly in transit throughout his European dominions.) So it was off to the church of the Antonites.

Built between 1350 and 1384 by the now extinct order of the Antonites (once vast and famed for their hospital charities, the order dwindled and was eventually absorbed into the Knights of Malta), this quite fine structure was donated as the first Protestant church in Cologne in 1802 (Cologne is a Catholic city, so they didn't rush things like this), then partially destroyed during the war and restored in 1952. It boasts a copy of the celebrated Ernst Barlach sculpture called "Memorial Angel," which the Nazis destroyed as being an example of *"entartete Kunst"* (degenerate art), and one can almost see their point, though in this case they went too far, for it is a powerful work. Fortunately, a cast was hidden away and brought forth after the war. (Later, at the Düsseldorf Max Beckmann exhibit, Criticus really could see the point of calling Beckmann's work *"entartet,"* but if you like seeing families hanging one another, or operating rooms full of gore, all painted as if by a deranged nine year old, you'll find Beckmann uplifting.)

Typically, the city center location and the trendy pastorate of the church of the Antonites assure that it is the site of various happy-clappy religious events, and, at the time of Criticus' visit, of a bizarre display of Dadaist art called unhelpfully "Die Außenwelt der Innenwelt der Außenwelt," which is to say, the "The Outer World of the Inner World of the Outer World." Does that clear it up? The thing involved a vast piece of military camouflage netting strung across the entire interior of the church only feet above head level, so that the point of looking aloft to the Outer world, to say nothing of the original intent to lift the worshipper's eye to the Other World, was totally defeated. More *entartete Kunst,* say I, and consequently *entartete Religion.* A choirmaster popped up and managed out of this lunatic assembly to get mostly non-German-speaking foreigners to sing a rousing three-part canon — "Wir erwarten einen neuen Himmel" — rollicking round the Church and out onto the streets, proving yet again the German gift for choral song or at least for getting as much of it as possible from unpromising material. My chaplain friend gave a beautiful reading in English of one of the lessons. The others discoursed in Hungarian, Italian, French, Spanish, and Korean, with a sermon in German that lasted several years. We had dinner afterwards in the oldest restaurant in Cologne, calling itself "Der Esel und Bier" and featuring over the entrance a sign of a donkey lapping at a beer keg. The restaurant specializes in mussels. No. I don't understand it either.

WELL, THERE were more signs and portents being given out by the Fatherland, but they were as mixed and as unfathomable as all the others. Thus I spare Constant Readers the account of a most strange installation ceremony of the European branch of the hitherto unknown

*Areas historically German that were transferred to Poland at Stalin's instigation as World War II ended. — Editor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to me Reformed Episcopal Church in the U.S., held in a Pentecostal retirement home in Bonn, lest you think I steal everything I write from Evelyn Waugh.

On the *Tag der deutschen Einheit* (Day of German Unity) Criticus was gliding down the Rhine in the Franz Liszt (they name their trains; this one was going to Budapest, naturally) and marvelling yet again at the castles on the Rhine, which are as dazzling as ever said to be in fable and thinking how they resembled but overtopped in location and majesty the almost completed Getty Museum (the flowing freeway is *its* river). And then thinking: but their purpose was to be difficult to approach, indeed impregnable. What is the Getty's? Rather the same, it seems. So there was a sign.

I also thought back to the graffito on the outer wall of the Antoniterkirche that read "Stinklisch = English stinks." Well, then, a sign that not everyone was taken with creeping language corruption. Even more reassuring it was to reflect that it takes more than popular foreign words and labels to make one truly fluent in another tongue: on the occasion of the departure from this life of the late Princess of Wales, a German newspaper in all seriousness bannered the event: "Bye, Bye, Princess Di."

▪ ▪ ▪ ▪

Bye, Bye, Contest Try. Constant Readers will recall that in the last number I promised to give a final update on the rhyming professions contest in Steve Harvey's "Only in L.A." column inspired by Criticus's "California Rhyming" piece in the May/June *CPR* and noted here in the July/August number. It gathered entries through May and June, trailing off by the end of that month, though a late stray appeared in mid-July. Along the way Criticus received a nice note from Steve Harvey about the contest that also mentioned that Harvey had been taken to task by a songwriter for saying that "Long Beach" was a full rhyme with "wrong peach." What did I think? I wrote back that I found it a perfectly satisfactory rhyme and offered him a verse of my own to illustrate it. I never heard anything further. Therefore I offer it here exclusively to *CPR* readers, with apologies to those who live in Long Beach. Remember, Long Beachers (is that the right word?) that a poetaster will do anything for a rhyme.

The Peach Beach Prize

There stood a bowl of pretty peaches
All marked with names of varied beaches.
Eyes shut closed, then in you reach,
Seize a peach and win a beach.
With luck you get the Caribbean,
Mayhap an isle in the Aegean.
Sorrow strikes! You picked the wrong peach:
You've just won a trip to Long Beach.

CPR

BOOKS

Little Essays on Big Truths

BY ANJANETTE MILHAM

MILTON FRIEDMAN, in his introduction to this third volume of *Midnight Economist* essays by *CPR* economics correspondent William R. Allen, writes that "the fundamental principles of economics are elementary — simple common sense, seemingly accessible to every intelligent person." Now this thought might lead some readers, perhaps a majority, to scratch their heads, recalling the anything-but-simple or straightforward classroom "economics" lectures they likely endured if they attended a typical American college or university. Many "economics" professors really specialize in socialism, a "discipline" that is to true economics what astrology is to astronomy, namely: quackery, as opposed to science. But Friedman is right, as readers of this book will soon learn. Fundamental economic principles *are* elementary, and can be seen as the matters of simple common sense they are, *if* they are explained by real economists, not charlatans, and — equally important — if the economist knows how to write. Fortunately, Professor Allen is a *bona fide* economist whose writing is an art.

Most of the insightful and innovative essays in this volume were prepared as broadcast commentaries heard on Allen's "The Midnight Economist" syndicated radio series from 1989 to 1992. The book also contains a few later magazine and newspaper articles. Like fellow economists Thomas

Anjanette Milham is a CPR contributing editor.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sowell and Walter Williams, William Allen is at home dealing with a wide range of political, economic, and social issues. Allen's essays offer economic theory in easily digestible doses, written in the vernacular, and applied to current issues. Allen employs humor as a teaching tool but never at the expense of substance or clarity.

As a UCLA economics professor of long experience, Allen knows well how great an extent of foolishness, and how poor a supply of common sense, many Americans bring to questions of economics. His essays respond to this circumstance, usually contrasting honest thinking with this or that currently popular emotional exhortation. In a typical essay, "The World's Most Materialistic Nation," Allen dispels the myth that America is more materialist than other societies. Calmly and clearly, Allen explains that a close examination "would not find one nation significantly more materialistic than all the others." Are America's art museums and concert halls mere gaudy displays of materialism? No, Allen argues, actually they indicate that we are beyond having to devote all our "efforts and available resources to satisfying elemental wants and requirements .... Minimal fulfillment of material wants is not a sufficient basis for advancement of the arts and sciences, but it is necessary. Primitive impoverished communities do not produce much of the mind or reveal much of the soul. Of necessity, they must be wholly materialistic almost constantly to survive." Allen concludes, "It is not that the rest of the world is less materialistic than we are; rather, it is commonly less efficient in its materialism."

The book is studded with enlightening debates carried on between a pair of unusually thoughtful rodents, the ponderous Mouse Karl, whose instincts are all antifreedom, and the cheerful Mouse Adam, whose common sense "Mouse Wisdom" rescues Karl from one fashionable misconception after another. In one episode,

The Midnight Economist

by William R. Allen
with an introduction by Milton Friedman

Thomas Horton & Daughters, 1997, 309 pages, $17, paper

Karl and Adam receive a visit from "Auntie Trust." They are eager to hear about Auntie's job "as the government's top guardian against monopoly." Karl is sure Auntie Trust must be very busy "trying to wiggle a little competition into the market place." But Auntie explains that actually she has "more difficulty opposing sellers who want to use my authority to restrict competition." Karl is confused: he believes that by opposing "monopolistic" mergers Auntie can ensure market competition. So Auntie Trust elaborates: "If a merger would create a more efficient enterprise, other firms in the industry would have to become more competitive to survive. Rather than confronting increased competition with greater efficiency of their own, the firms often try to use my authority to block the merger in the first place." Auntie Trust goes on to explain that companies that complain about "predatory pricing" do so "mostly because they want to prevent a more efficient company from underselling them. It may seem as though these complainants are trying to *preserve* competition, but actually they are trying to *restrict* it. What they want is *not competition,* but *protection* from competitors." [Allen's emphasis]

Allen challenges us to examine our own parochial motivation for encouraging bad economic policy. In "How Politicians Abuse the Law," Allen observes that "Good economics and good politics rarely mix well: Politicians thrive by promising something for nothing, but economics shows that little can be had without someone bearing the cost." For instance, Allen explains, politicians who contrive to keep costs artificially low for water, airports, and health care are contributing to their overuse and abuse. It is refreshing to see him consistently apply the laws of supply and demand and the concept of scarcity, no matter how emotionally-charged the issue. "By keeping these prices arbitrarily low," Allen writes, "government abuses a fundamental principle of good economics: the law of demand, which points out that individuals consume more of something at lower prices than at higher prices." The only way, he argues, to contain health-care costs or prevent water shortages is to ensure that "government policies are in accord with the law of demand."

A pattern emerges from the essays. First, Allen introduces a problem; then he provides the emotional reflex response we have been trained to regurgitate. Finally, he eviscerates the emotionalism in a careful, entertaining exhibition of facts. Allen leads the reader in an exercise in logic, keeping each lesson short to accommodate the shrunken attention span of the newspaper/broad-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cast age, and non-technical, to serve an audience not likely to be versed in economics. Unfortunately, many of the essays are so brief they cannot fully present as many supporting facts as some of us might like to see. But such brevity notwithstanding, the book is an excellent economics primer, fully accessible, as Professor Friedman would say, to every intelligent person. CPR

Little Big Man

BY JOHN KURZWEIL

EVERYBODY LOVES a winner, and so, in his contribution to this slim, informative, and entertaining volume, Pete Wilson fails to recall travelling to New Hampshire in 1976 to tell Republicans there that Ronald Reagan had been the worst governor in California's history. Well, hey, who knew what the future held? As Mike Wallace says in his "recollection," "seldom have I seen a politician so underestimated by the press." And, he might have added, by more or less everyone else among California's, the nation's, and the world's political, media, and social elites. (Even Pete Hannaford, a close Reagan associate for more than 20 years and this book's editor, begins his Preface humbly quoting himself saying: "'What a nice man. It's too bad he can't get elected.' That was my first thought as Ronald Reagan disappeared from view after our first meeting" in 1965.)

What comes through most forcefully from the 54 "recollections" gathered here is what an odd duck Reagan was in American politics: a man genuinely driven not to make himself *look* good, but actually to *do* good. In a relativist world, a man whose motto is "there's no limit to the good a man can do if he doesn't care who gets the credit" is simply incomprehensible. Still, something seeps through: summing up his recollection, grizzled reporter Wallace allows cryptically that "It's quite apparent today, as you look around, that we need the kind of man he is." Wallace might more plainly have said we need men with Reagan's honesty and genuine concern for the good of others, but of course for Wallace to talk about truth and good as real, knowable things that men may choose to serve would have confused and annoyed his professional colleagues, so let us not quibble.

Recollections of Reagan
A Portrait of Ronald Reagan
edited by Peter Hannaford
William Morrow & Company, 1997, 211 pages, $24, cloth

Ronald Reagan was a throwback, out of place, in just the sense that *National Review* proclaimed itself "out of place" at its founding in the mid-1950s, when Bill Buckley described the new magazine's mission as "standing athwart history yelling 'stop'." One thing the world will recollect about Reagan is that, shortly after his relatively brief performance on the international stage, history *did* stop, and radically shifted course, blithely defying the certitudes of several generations of intellectuals and other ill-informed experts.

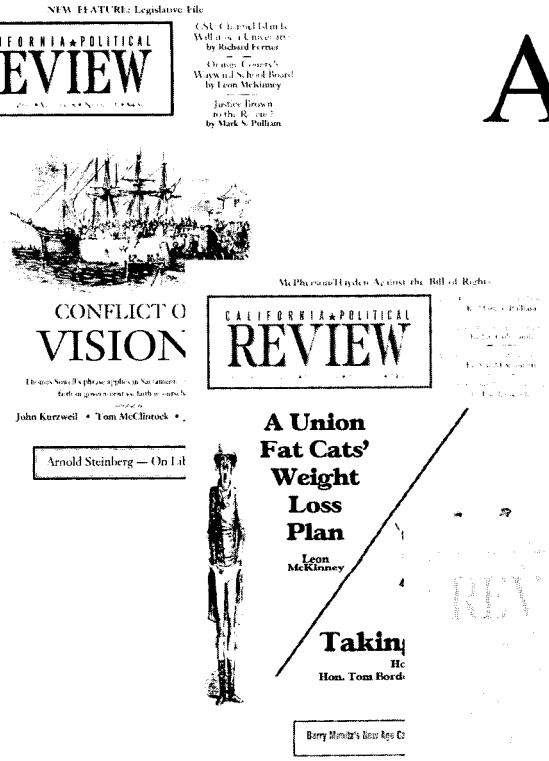
My personal favorite in this collection is from Ed Meese who recalls a student body president informing Reagan in Sacramento: "Governor, you just can't understand our generation. When you were our age, you didn't have intercontinental air travel as we have today, or television or instantaneous communications around the globe." To which Reagan said, "No, my generation didn't have those things; we invented them." The whiny left meets the American idea: any questions why the Soviet empire fell? "People call him the Great Communicator," Meese writes, "but his ability didn't lie just in his delivery of a speech. Rather, it was based on his interest in people .... I think that came from his roots. He was from the heartland of America, growing up in a small town, with its customs and mores and sense of community. He has never lost that."

Politics, recollects Charlton Heston, "was the most fun [Reagan] could imagine; to go out and campaign and say to people, 'Let me tell you why I want you to vote for me and what my vision is for the country.' .... He loved it." He loved people, and he had a vision larger than himself — a simple formula for political victory, but even more, for living. No wonder Pete Wilson was horrified. CPR

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Opening for Common Sense



"The beginning of political wisdom is the recognition that liberalism is at the end of its intellectual tether."
— Irving Kristol

What used to be called "liberalism" has degenerated into reflexive attacks on everything from the family car to free speech to the Boy Scouts — a movement without a mind and with nowhere to lead. Common sense is the cure — find it in the pages of *California Political Review.* Subscribe today!

I can't tell you how impressed I am with California Political Review. — William A. Rusher

California Political Review's pages reflect the common sense conservative principles that guided the administrations of Ronald Reagan in which I was privileged to serve — a refreshing voice on California's political scene. — Hon. Edwin Meese III

California Political Review is filling a critical need in the Golden State. — Bruce Herschensohn

Send me a full year of *California Political Review* (SIX bimonthly issues) for the special NEW SUBSCRIBER rate of just $14.95 — more than 40% off the cover price! ___ Check (payable to the California Public Policy Foundation) ___ Credit Card: ___ MC ___ Visa

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____ Signature _____

Call: 1-800-887-7676

or send this form to the address below. Thank you.

Name _____
Please Print
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

Must reading for informed Conservatives

California Political Review, P.O. Box 931 Camarillo, California 93011-0931

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lions & Tigers & Donkeys. . .

Oh My!

In the political jungle even the mighty pachyderm needs some help finding the yellow brick road and fighting the never ending barrage of predators.

THE MONACO GROUP

The one-stop for all your campaign production needs when you don't have time to stop!

THE MONACO GROUP

701 East Ball Road
Suite 102
Anaheim, CA 92805
714-533-5180
FAX 533-5181

ALL YOUR PRINTING, PERSONALIZATION & MAILING NEEDS FOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND FUND RAISING

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED